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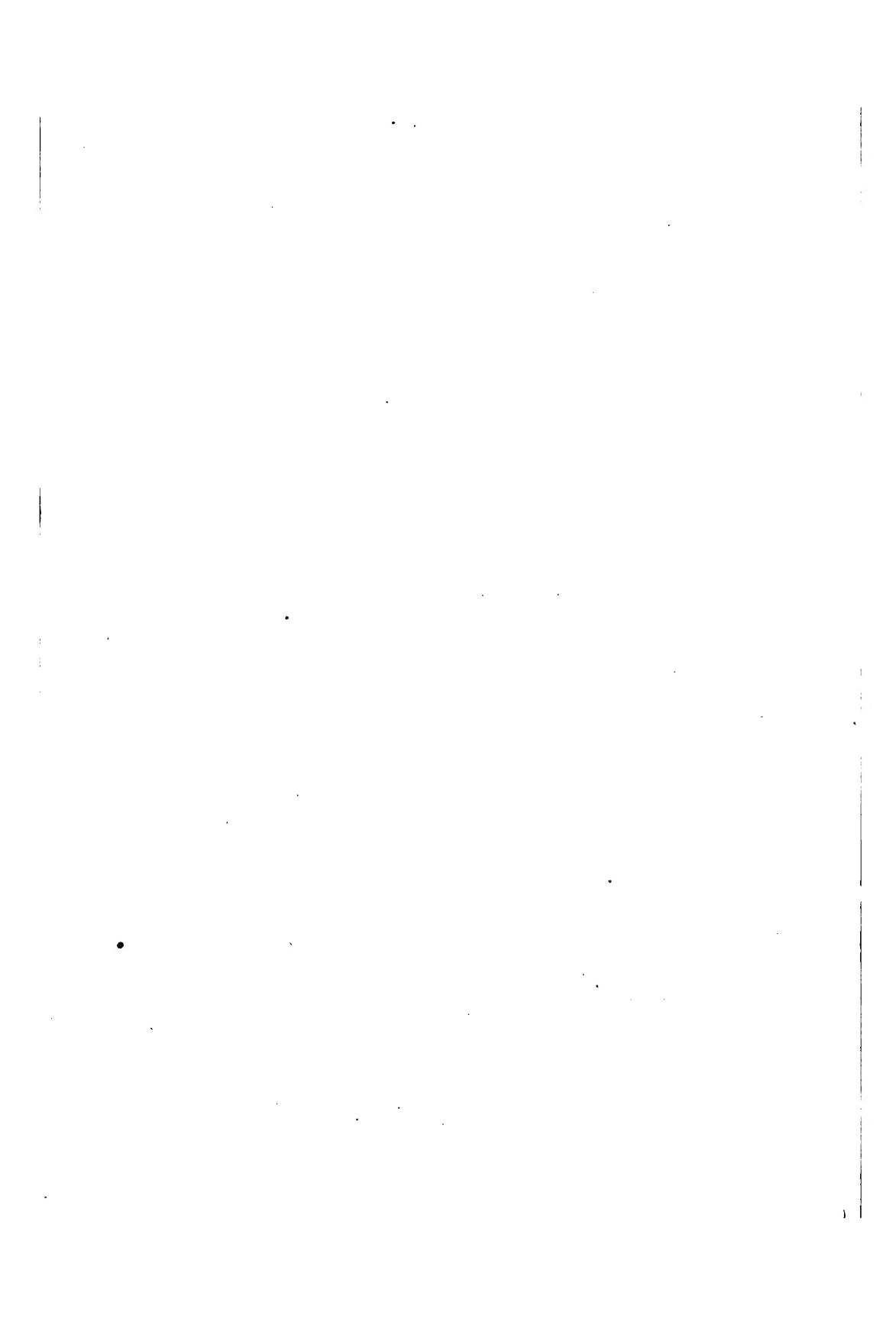
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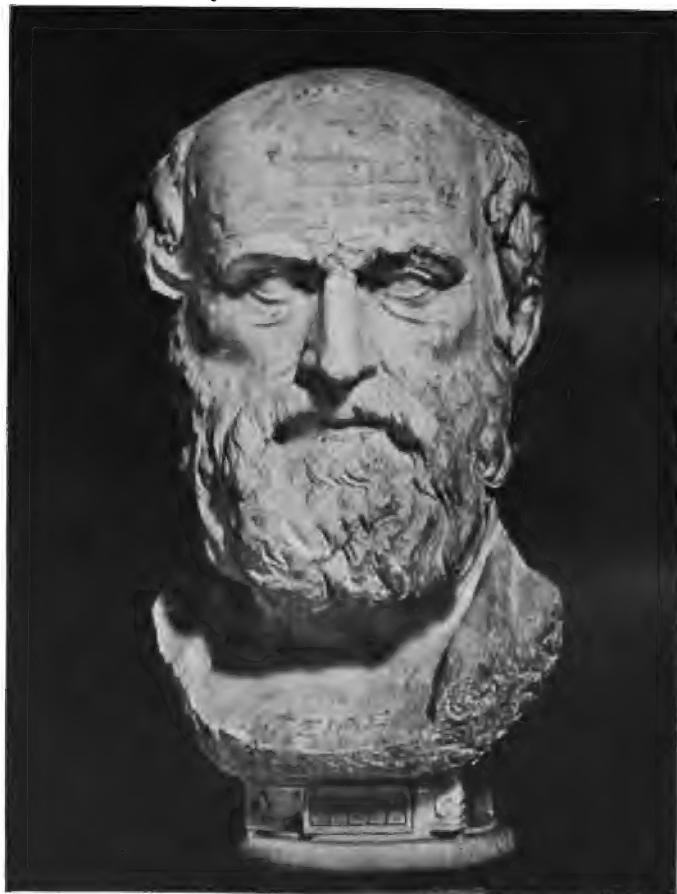
LYSIAS

MORGAN









BUST OF LYSIAS

(See Introduction, § 25.)

COLLEGE SERIES OF GREEK AUTHORS
EDITED UNDER THE SUPERVISION OF
JOHN WILLIAMS WHITE AND THOMAS DAY SEYMOUR

EIGHT ORATIONS
OF
LYSIAS

EDITED
WITH INTRODUCTION, NOTES, AND APPENDICES
BY
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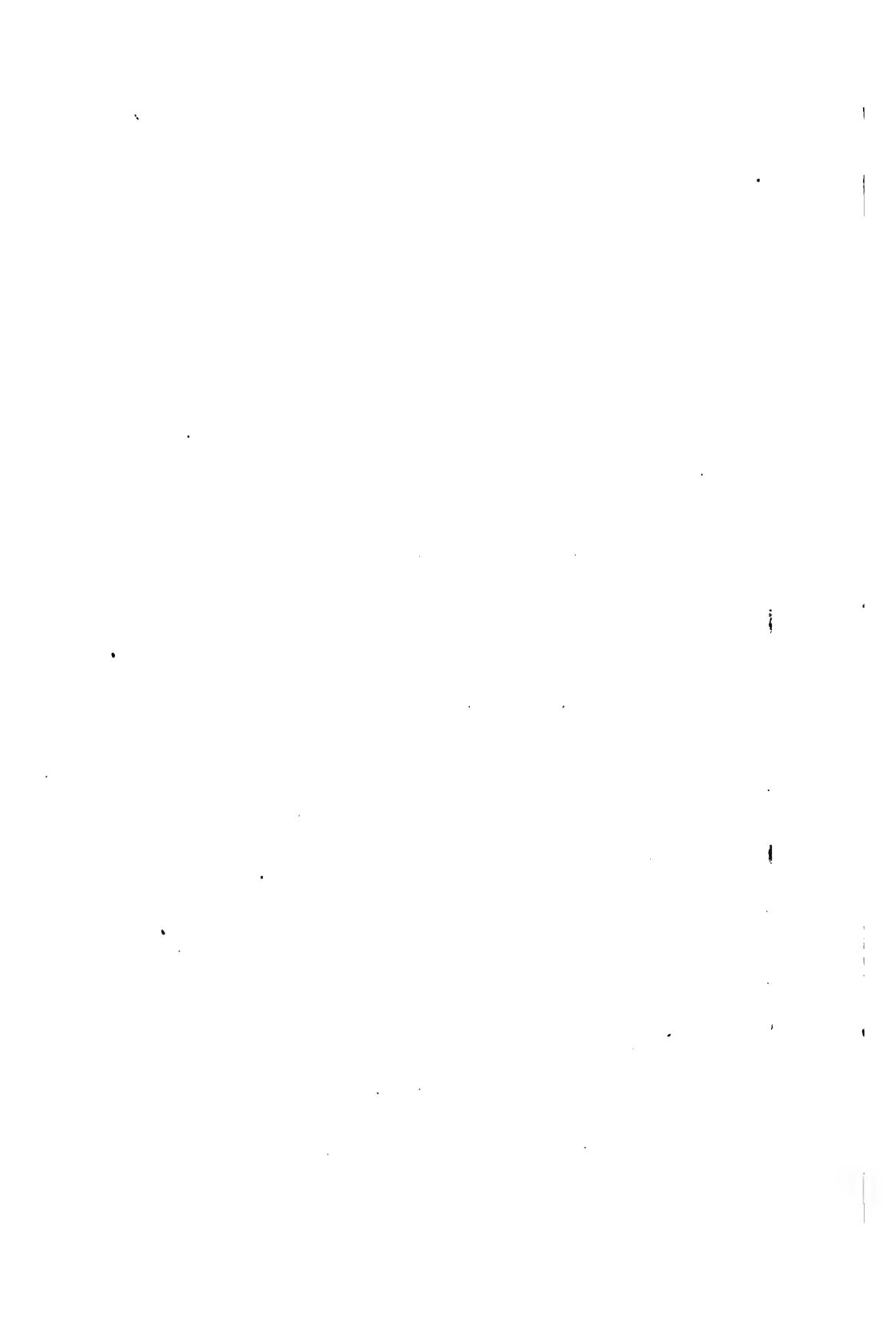
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VIRO · DOCTISSIMO

GEORGIO · MARTINO · LANE

MAGISTRO · OPTIMO · AMATO



PREFACE.

THIS volume of selected orations of Lysias is intended primarily for students who have never before read an Attic Orator. It is not based upon any single German edition. Yet the editor is far from laying claim to much originality. He has drawn freely from his many predecessors, and, in especial, he is indebted, on nearly every page of the notes and the appendix, to Rauchenstein and Frohberger, as will be clear to all who know the editions of these two scholars. In the Introduction, the present editor, like everyone who now writes on an Attic Orator, has found invaluable aid in the work of Blass. A list of the books to which reference is made by abbreviations will be found prefixed to the Index, and a list of editions of Lysias in Appendix B.

The eight orations here printed are arranged, for convenience of reference, in their numerical order, but this is not the order in which the editor would recommend that they be read. Judged by his experience, the speech *For Mantitheus* is the simplest to a beginner in Lysias, and it should be followed by the speech *Against Eratosthenes*. The notes to these two speeches are, therefore, somewhat elementary in nature, and matters of syntax are more fully treated in them than in the notes to the other speeches.

PREFACE.

The editor is under great obligations to Professors White and Seymour for their careful reading of the proof-sheets, and for their many helpful and illuminating suggestions. He is grateful, also, to his colleagues and former masters, Professors Goodwin and Allen, for their kind assistance here and there throughout the book; and he thanks Professor Gildersleeve for encouragement in his work and for what he believes to be a certain emendation in VII. 14.

M. H. M.

HARVARD UNIVERSITY,

August, 1895.

INTRODUCTION.

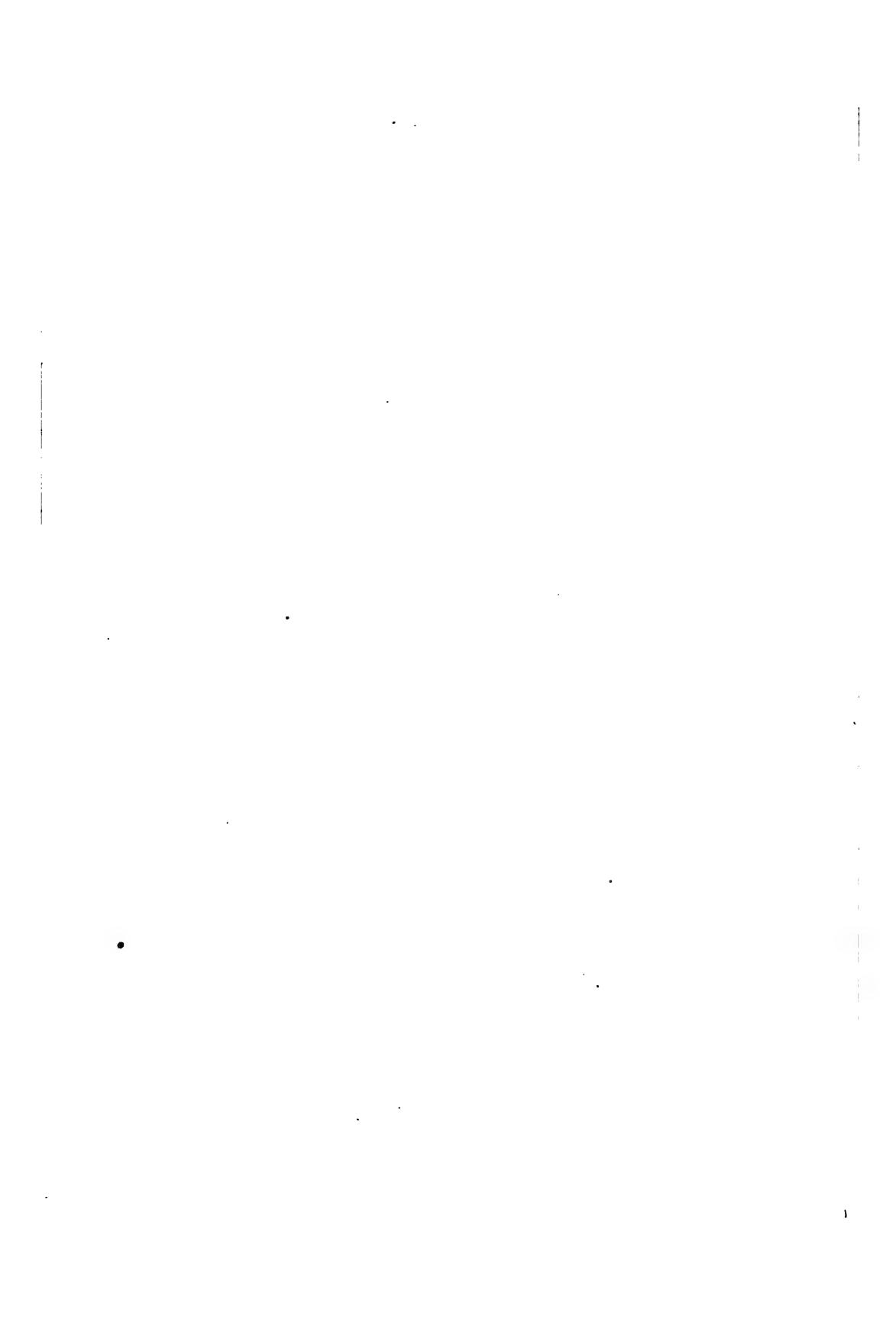
PUBLIC SPEAKING IN ATHENS.

1. HOMER relates that Achilles, when he set out to join the army of Agamemnon, was but a boy, “as yet unskilled in war and in public speaking wherein men win preëminence.” Therefore Phoenix went with him, “to teach him all these things,—to be both a speaker of words and also a doer of deeds.”¹ Thus, ages before the written word was known, we find that the skill to speak and the power to fight were rated equally, each contributing to make up the hero. Such a hero was Odysseus, strong in council, as the Greeks before Troy found him when he showed that the fatal tenth year was at hand, and terrible in the combat, as when on the threshold of his house in Ithaca “he stripped him of his rags,” and “among the suitors each man looked about him how he might escape his utter doom.”²

2. It is a misfortune that, of the surviving Attic prose, the simplest is so full of descriptions of wars and so coloured by the dialect of campaigns that the young student of the Classics sees for a long time only one side of the character of the ideal Greek. In the heroic age, to be sure, men were more ready to settle their disputes by battle than by argument. Even in our own day the sword is still the final arbiter, although the appeal to its decision grows constantly rarer. In the Attic age; the Greeks highly appreciated the more

¹ *Il.* ix. 440 ff.

² *Il.* ii. 284 ff.; *Od.* xxii. 1, 43.





have made with truth the assertion of Socrates to his judges: “I am over seventy years of age, and yet I have never come up before a court until to-day.”⁴ Athenian lawsuits were as varied in their subjects as are our own. There is hardly a case upon our records which is not foreshadowed in Athenian experience. Even the problem of monopolies and trusts, which still remains unsolved, is not without its Athenian parallel. Lysias wrote one of his most interesting speeches against the members of a ‘corn-ring.’⁵ Those who see in the character of the Greek people only the perfection which appears in their works of art make a mistake that is fatal to any real appreciation of the facts of ancient life. If we thus exalt the Greeks, our mere mortal vision cannot comprehend their features nor our thoughts sympathize with theirs. They were human; therefore they often erred. If they had not, we could not feel their experiences half so keenly, nor learn so many lessons from their history.

6. In Athenian procedure, besides cases similar to our own, there were two classes of suits, foreign to any which are known to modern practice, which added a great mass of business to the work of the courts, and which made the need of the power of speaking in public more general among the citizens. Participation in public affairs was a far commoner thing in Athens than it is in our communities. The meetings of the public Assembly (*ἐκκλησία*) of all the citizens were no mere annual or semi-annual functions, like the American town-meetings. There were forty stated meetings of the *ἐκκλησία* every year, and additional meetings whenever occasion required.⁶ For the Assembly was the supreme power of the State, the training-school in politics for the young Athenian, and at its

⁴ Plat. *Apol.* 17 D.

⁶ On the *ἐκκλησία* in general, see

⁵ Oration xxii. See below, p. 89 ff. Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 285 ff.; Gow, p. 118 ff.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Ecclesia*.

meetings the greatest statesmen first won the attention which raised them later to office. To hold an office in the gift of the people was felt to be the highest honour to which a citizen could aspire, and it was an honour open to all citizens and rarely shirked. In the annals of the best days of Athens we do not read of a class of persons who confined their share in the government to private criticism of its conduct and who refused to aid in remedying the evils of which they complained. Even Socrates thought it necessary to bring forward a divine mission as his excuse for not taking part in affairs of state.⁷ Public station seems to have been generally sought, but the taking up and the laying down of office were attended with certain restrictions which are of interest to our subject.

7. At the end of his term of office, every magistrate was obliged to submit to a public accounting (*εὐθύνα* or *εὐθύνη*, frequently used also in the plural, *εὐθύναι*) for all his official acts. This law applied not only to the high officers of the State, such as archons, generals, senators, ambassadors, and trierarchs, but also to every one of the whole multitude of minor officials in every department of state, civil or military, whether elected by the lot or by a show of hands. At the end of each officer's term, he was obliged to submit his accounts to thirty magistrates called *λογισταῖ*. If their examination showed maladministration of the public funds, they reported the case to the ten *συνήγοροι*, who, after satisfying themselves of the justice of the charge, laid the matter before a Heliastic court⁸ consisting of 501 *δικασταῖ*. But this was not all. For it was the privilege of even the humblest citizen to appear and bring forward any complaint which he might have to make against the retiring official. Such charges were not con-

⁷ Plat. *Apol.* 31 C. See below on

xvi. 21.

⁸ See below, § 41 ff.

fined to the administration of public money, but might be made with regard to any acts committed while in office. If the charge was of a personal nature, it was settled by inferior magistrates; if it was made on public grounds, it was brought before a Heliastic court. An official undergoing *εὑθυναι* was not allowed to leave Athens or to transfer his property before the investigation was completed; and he was not permitted to retire into private life until every charge against him had been answered or every penalty inflicted had been paid.⁹

8. But not only at the end of official careers did the sovereign people inquire into the conduct of its officials. By another law, every person elected or chosen by lot to an office was required, before he entered upon it, to show his fitness to hold it. The candidate must first prove that he was an Athenian citizen; then he must show that he worshipped the tutelary gods *Απόλλων πατρός* and *Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος*; that he took care of his family tomb; that he had been dutiful to his parents; that he had performed all the required military duties; and that he was assessed in the property class to which he legally belonged.¹⁰ These were the principal points; but, as in the *εὑθυναι*, so in this admission examination (called *δοκιμασία*), the inquiry might take a wider range and extend to an investigation of the candidate's whole life.¹¹ Any citizen might come forward against him and show facts in his public or

⁹ On the *εἴθυναι*, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 224 ff.; M. and S. p. 257 ff.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Euthyne*. Between the forms *εἴθυναι* and *εἴθειν* there is not inscriptional evidence enough to decide. See Meisterhans, p. 94; Bl. Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 382.

¹⁰ For the general requirement of a *δοκιμασία*, cf. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 55. 2, *πάντες γάρ καὶ οἱ κληρωτοὶ καὶ οἱ χειρο-*

τοντοὶ δοκιμασθέντες δρχονται. For the questions put, cf. Arist. *ibid.* 3; *Dinarch.* II. 17. In the case of a few offices there were special qualifications, as the archonship; see on *xxiv.* 13. On the *δοκιμασία* in general, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 218 ff.; M. and S. p. 236 ff.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Dokimasia*.

¹¹ Cf. *xvi.* 9; *xxiv.* 15, 19; and p. 28, n. 20.

private life which might disqualify him for office. The general principle of the *δοκιμασία* applied to others than officials. For example, every youth, on coming of age, was required to show that he was legitimately entitled to the privileges of citizenship¹²; cripples in receipt of state allowances must annually prove that they needed the aid, and every cavalry man must offer himself and his horse for the test of fitness.¹³ Though the different classes of *δοκιμασται* came in the first instance before different magistrates, yet in the last resort almost all cases arising from these examinations might be brought into a Heliastic court for settlement. The candidate, if rejected (*ἀποδοκιμάζειν*), seems in some cases, at least, to have suffered partial *ἀτιμία* (see § 51).

9. Evidently, an enormous increase of business in the courts must have been the result of the working of two such laws as these which have just been examined. Not only would the good citizen feel it to be his duty to appear either to protest against the entrance of unworthy persons into office or to expose the unfaithful official at the end of his term, but these two occasions would also afford opportunities to a man's political or personal enemies to bring vexatious, slanderous, or unfounded charges against him for his political ruin. More than one-fourth of the extant genuine orations of Lysias were written for such occasions.¹⁴ Even the greatest statesmen might well have feared to submit to such a scrutiny of their lives; every Athenian knew that his enemies would spare no pains to search his record to the very bottom. And here again, as in every other suit, came into operation the law which required every citizen to plead his own cause personally.

¹² Cf. xxxii. 9; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 42; M. and S. p. 255; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 197 ff.

¹³ Cf. Or. xxiv; xvi. 13; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 49.

¹⁴ For *δοκιμασίαι*, xvi, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxxi. For *εἴθυνται*, xii, xxi, xxvii.

10. At first hearing, this requirement appears to be the veriest subversion of justice, and one asks in wonder wherein lay safety for the untrained against the skilful orator, and for the ignorant against the highly educated man. This just question may best be answered by asking and answering another. At the time when the requirement began, or, even later, at the time of the Persian wars, who were the skilful orators and the highly educated men in Athens? The answer is,—there were none of either class. Education,¹⁵ in this early period, was very simple, and was the same for all alike. In the small territory of Attica, in area less than one-tenth of Massachusetts or of Wales, there were few citizens who had not acquired the branches which for a long time comprised the entire curriculum,—reading, writing, counting, singing and lyre-playing, and gymnastics. There was nothing to read but Homer and the lyric poets. There was no prose to read, because none had been written. Greek literature, like that of every other nation, begins with poetry. To be an educated man in the days when education meant so little was not difficult. To be an orator was an impossibility, except in the sense of that natural oratory in which the Homeric hero excelled. In such a community, therefore, the law which obliged every citizen to plead his own cause was not so unfair as it appears to us with our knowledge of rhetoric and of logic. But after the birth of these arts, the old law was no longer fair for all alike.

11. This is not the place in which to attempt a full account of the beginnings of rhetoric as an art.¹⁶ It must here suffice

¹⁵ On this subject, see Blümner's *Home Life of the Ancient Greeks*, translated by Zimmern, p. 102 ff.; Becker's *Charicles*, Goll's edition, II, p. 19 ff., English edition, p. 217 ff.; Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 311 ff.

¹⁶ For accounts of early rhetoric and rhetoricians, see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 1 ff.; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I, p. cviii ff.

to observe that Athens, in which the art was destined to reach its perfection, was not the place which saw its birth. Its rules were founded upon the theories and principles of rhetoricians who lived, spoke, and wrote treatises in the Ionic East and in Sicily. In Ionia of Asia Minor correctness in speaking and writing was first made the object of study. The first rules for the arrangement of the narrative and argumentative parts of a speech were formulated in Sicily by Corax of Syracuse, who lived about 470 B.C. His system was developed and committed to writing by his pupil Tisias, likewise a Syracusan, and reputed the earliest master of Lysias.¹⁷ In this book, the first *Art of Rhetoric* ever published (no longer extant), was explained the use of the famous "arguments from probability," the great weapon of early rhetoric. For example, if a physically weak man be accused of an assault, he is to ask the jury, "Is it *probable* that a weakling like me should have attacked anybody?" while if the accused is a strong man he is to claim that it is *improbable* that he should have committed an assault in a case where his strength was sure to be a presumption against him.¹⁸ This "topic of general probability," as it was called, became the favourite of the early rhetoricians and orators, and allusion will frequently be made to it in the notes on the following orations of Lysias.

12. The simple principles laid down by the first teachers of rhetoric were soon improved and amplified by their Ionic and Sicilian successors. Athens herself took no part in the early development of the art. It is true that Pericles was a great orator. Suidas notes that he was the first Athenian who composed a forensic speech before delivering it; his predecessors

¹⁷ See below, § 16. On Corax and Tisias, see Blass, *ibid.* p. 18 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. cxxi ff.

¹⁸ Jebb, *ibid.*; cf. Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 24. 11.

had never written out their speeches beforehand. But the successes of Pericles were due to the personal spell that hung about the man himself rather than to any rules of rhetoric. "Persuasion," says the comedian Eupolis,¹⁹ "sat upon his lips, and, alone of the speakers, he always left his sting in his hearers." Not until two years after his death did the Athenians become acquainted with the power of artistic oratory. In 427 B.C., an embassy was sent to Athens from Leontini in Sicily. Gorgias, the most famous orator and rhetorician of his time, was at its head. He addressed the Assembly, and the effect of his speech upon the future of oratory cannot be overestimated. The Athenians, already fond of public speaking and quick to appreciate natural excellence in it, were astounded, says Diodorus,²⁰ at the strange new fashion of the Sicilian's language. They were enchanted by his cleverly-balanced clauses, his artistic use of antithesis, his employment of *homoeoteleuta* and of other figures of rhetoric then new to them. His style of eloquence became the fashion. From this time forward, the Athenians, long accustomed to recognize musical rhythm and finished expression in poetry, now began to demand these qualities in prose. Ability to speak in public had always been indispensable to the citizen who wished to distinguish himself in politics or who had to defend himself in the courts. It was henceforward cultivated as a fine art, and Greek audiences (as Jebb remarks) criticized the style of a speech as we criticize the style of a book. Schools of rhetoric were soon opened. In the courts, artistic oratory and rhetorical arguments so caught the fancy of the Athenians that (as we have too much reason to believe) a suitor, who could offer these to the jury, had a strong case even against the

¹⁹ *Frag.* 94, Kock. On the oratory of Pericles, see Blass, *ibid.* p. 34 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. cxxviii ff.

²⁰ xii. 53. On Gorgias, see Blass, *ibid.* p. 47 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. cxxiii ff.

adverse testimony of eye-witnesses.²¹ In the Assembly, the finished and (as he soon became) the professional orator overshadowed his humbler competitor for the public favour.

13. The knowledge of the devices of rhetoric evidently must have led to a modification in the working of Athenian legal procedure. The law had always required the citizen to plead his own cause,²²—it always obliged him to *deliver* his own plea, but the letter of the law had never obliged him to *compose* his speech himself. As soon as the suitor, or the aspirant for the honours of the *ἐκκλησία*, found that there were people who could write a better speech for him in his need than he could hope to compose for himself, he naturally turned to them for aid. Nothing in the law forbade it, and thus arose the profession of the *λογογράφος* or speech-writer,—a profession which the great Athenian orators all practised. The ordinary citizen had not the time or the will to devote himself to the careful study which had now become necessary for success in the art; he was quick to realize that an honest suitor with a good cause, but without the help of rhetoric, ran the risk of being defeated by an opponent whose cause, although it might be weaker, was made to appear the better by the rhetorical aid which he had purchased from a *λογογράφος*. The suitor, therefore, had recourse to the speech-writer just as we go to our lawyers,—but with this difference, that the speech-writer's duties ended with the beginning of the trial of the case in court. He only wrote the speeches necessary, and perhaps gave his client some instruction in delivery.²³

²¹ See below, p. 5 and n. 49.

²² No actual 'law' survives, but the whole constitution of the Athenian procedure shows so clearly the existence of such a provision that we hardly need the words of Quintilian, ii. 15. 30, *tum maxime scribere litigato-*

*ribus, quae illi pro se ipsi dicere-
rent, erat moris, atque ita iuri,
quo non licebat pro altero agere,
fraus adhibebatur.*

²³ M. and S. p. 919 f. On the *συν-
τοπος*, see below, § 36.

14. The first Athenian who wrote speeches for pay was the orator Antiphon,²⁴ who came into prominence during the revolution of the Four Hundred,²⁵ and who was condemned to death as one of the leaders of that movement. A *λογογράφος*, therefore, if he were a citizen, might be active in public affairs on his own account as well as for others. The greatest statesman who practised the profession was Demosthenes. It is true that his most famous speeches were both written and delivered by himself, but he wrote also for other men. Demosthenes was first led to become a master of oratory by the dishonesty of his guardians, who cheated him out of his patrimony during his minority, and it was pecuniary misfortune which led Lysias, another of the Ten Orators,²⁶ to adopt the profession of the *λογογράφος*.

LIFE OF LYSIAS.

[*AUTHORITIES.* *Ancient:* 1) His own oration *Against Eratosthenes* (xii); 2) Plato, *Republic*, *init.*, and *Phaedrus*, *passim*; 3) pseudo-Demosthenes, *LIX.* 21 ff.; 4) Athenaeus, p. 592 f.; 5) Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Περὶ Λυσίου*, containing a biography as well as a critical estimate; 6) the pseudo-Plutarchian biography in the *Bιοι τῶν δέκα Πρητέρων* (*Moralia*, p. 835 C, ff.); 7) the brief biographies in Photius, *Bibl.* 262, and 8) in Suidas, *s.v.* *Λυσίας*. *Modern:* Since Hoelscher's *De vita et scriptis Lysiae oratoris*, *Berolini*, 1837, there have been numerous pamphlets or articles on the subject. These are cited and their results summarized in Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I, p. 339 ff.; Jebb, *The Attic Orators*, I, p. 142 ff.; as well as in the histories of Greek literature by Christ, Sittl, and others. See also Mahaffy's *Classical Greek Literature*, II, 1, p. 186 ff.]

15. Lysias was born probably in Athens,²⁷ but the exact year of his birth is undetermined. The traditional date,

²⁴ Ps.-Plut. *Vit. X Oratt.* p. 832 C; Diod. apud Clem. Al., *Str. i.* 365 (II, 66 Dindorf).

²⁵ Cf. Lys. xii. 67.

²⁶ On the 'Decade,' see Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I, p. lxv f.

²⁷ Cicero, *Brutus*, 63; Dion. H. § 1; Plut. § 2; Suidas. But Christ and others believe that he was born in Syracuse.

accepted by the ancients and by many modern scholars, is 459 B.C., but there are facts which point to a later year,—say about 444.²⁸ His father Cephalus, the son of Lysanias and grandson of Cephalus,²⁹ was a wealthy Syracusan, who came to settle in Athens at the invitation of Pericles.³⁰ It was the wish of that great statesman to bring to the city foreigners of wealth as well as of learning. As one of the former, Cephalus, probably a manufacturer of arms at Syracuse, was attracted

²⁸ The traditional date rests on a mere conjecture, as Dionysius, § 1, admits when he says that Lysias returned to Athens from Thurii at the age of forty-seven, *ως δὲ τις εἰκάσειεν*. The year 459 was fixed upon because it was believed (probably on the authority of Lysias himself in his speech *On his own Services*) that he went to Thurii at the age of fifteen, and because Thurii was founded in 444 B.C. But there is no evidence that he went in the very year of its foundation (unless it lie in the imperfect *ετελλόν* used by Dionysius); and if he was born in 459, it follows that he did not begin his active career as a speech-writer until he was fifty-seven years old. This seems to many very doubtful, considering his high reputation in the profession and his great fertility of production. The tradition is, however, still followed by Rademacher, *De Lysiae oratoris aetate*, Berolini, 1865; A. Schöne, *Die Biographien der zehn att. Redner*, Jahrb. für Philol. 1871, p. 761 ff.; A. Weineck, *Das Geburtsjahr des Lysias*, Mitau, 1880; B. Pretzsch, *De vitae Lysiae oratoris temporibus definendis*, Halis, 1881; and by Jebb, p. 143 f. Another date, first suggested by Vater (Jahrb.

für Philol., Suppl. Bd. IX, p. 165 ff.), is 432. But this would make Lysias younger than Isocrates (born 436), and all accounts agree that he was older (cf. Plat. *Phaedr.* 278 E; Ps.-Plut. § 16 f.; Dionysius, *Vit. Isocr.* § 1; Ps.-Plut. *Isocr.* p. 836 E). The year 444 was first set by K. F. Hermann (*Gesammelte Abhandlungen*, p. 15), and to this or 445 Blass and Christ incline. It depends chiefly on the Plutarchian statement, § 3 (which may or may not be based on Lysias in his speech *On his own Services*), that Lysias did not go to Thurii until after the death of Cephalus. Now Cephalus was invited to Athens by Pericles, and this could hardly have been before 460 B.C. Lysias says (xii. 4) that his father lived thirty years in Athens; hence Cephalus died not before 429, and Lysias, if he went to Thurii in 429 at the age of fifteen, was born in 444. For a full discussion of this unsolved problem, see Blass. Nothing decisive about the date can be based upon the assemblage of persons in the *Republic*, for it is clear from the *Protagoras* that Plato did not pretend to pedantic exactness in such matters.

²⁹ Plat. *Rep.* 330 B; Ps.-Plut. § 1.

³⁰ Lys. xii. 4.

thither, induced no doubt by the commercial advantages offered by the capital of the Hellenic world.³¹ The State, while refusing to foreigners any participation in public affairs, gave them, under the title of metics,³² all the protection of the laws on payment of a special tax, and on performance of certain public duties. A privileged class of metics, called *ἰσοτελεῖς*, to which Cephalus belonged, was relieved from the metics' tax and duties, and shared the taxes and liturgies of the citizens. They were (like ordinary metics) sometimes allowed, as a special privilege, to own land and houses.³³ Probably Cephalus was thus a householder; certainly his sons owned houses. He lived in Athens for thirty years,³⁴ and his wealth³⁵ and the protection of Pericles, together with the personality of the man himself, made him influential in the city. He had the virtue of true hospitality, must have been of a genial, kindly temperament (for his son says that he never had a lawsuit), and was well read in the best literature. The whole picture which Plato draws in the beginning of the *Republic* shows that Cephalus was known as a man of sweet and noble disposition, gifted with the dignity and courtesy of the old school. He had three sons, Polemarchus, Lysias, and Euthydemus, and a daughter who was married to one Brachyllus.³⁶ The third son is mentioned

³¹ The story in Ps.-Plut. § 1, that Cephalus was exiled from Syracuse when Gelon became tyrant (485 B.C.), probably belongs to the life of his grandfather Cephalus.

³² On the metics and isoteleis and their patrons (*ἴσοτελῆς*), see Gow, p. 102 f.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.vv. *Metoecus* and *Civitas*; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 176 ff.; Hermann, *Staatsalt.* pp. 419 ff., 428 ff. See on xxxi. 9 and 29.

³³ Gilbert, *Antiq.* pp. 178, 183; Hermann, *Staatsalt.* pp. 420, 428.

³⁴ Lys. XII. 4. This statement does not necessarily preclude the view that Cephalus himself may have gone to Thurii to settle his sons there; Susemihl, *Plat. Forschungen*, II, p. 109.

³⁵ Plut. § 1; Plat. *Rep.* 330 B.

³⁶ The Ps.-Plut. §§ 3 and 15, calls Brachyllus a brother of Lysias, but, as Westermann and Blass conclude, this was an error due to a misunderstanding of [Dem.] LIX. 22, where it is doubtless meant that he was a brother-in-law.

(besides in the biographies of Lysias) only in the *Republic*, where he appears as a mere youth. The eldest, Polemarchus, seems to have been fond of philosophical studies, for he was called 'the philosopher.'³⁷ During his father's life he lived in the Piraeus, for he appears in the *Republic* as the host of Socrates. He was killed by the Thirty Tyrants, under the circumstances described in Lysias's Twelfth oration.

16. Since Lysias belonged to such a family, it is not surprising to hear that his early life was passed among the most distinguished of the Athenians.³⁸ His boyhood fell in the golden age of art and literature. He might often have seen the great sculptor Phidias, who was at that time engaged in superintending the completion of the Parthenon and in the creation of his masterpieces of the plastic art. Aeschylus, indeed, was dead; but the tragic poets Sophocles and Euripides, the comedians Cratinus and Crates, and the philosopher Anaxagoras, were familiar figures in the city. Such surroundings could not have been without their influence upon the mind of the future orator. When Lysias was fifteen years old, he went with his brother Polemarchus to Thurii,³⁹ a colony founded, under the superintendence of Athens, in Magna Graecia on the site of the ancient Sybaris. Possibly Pericles had granted rights in the colony to their father and they went to take possession of these; for, according to the tradition,⁴⁰ Cephalus was now dead. The place was well suited to them both. It was a flourishing colony, and there was doubtless a good demand for the arms and armour which it was their trade to manufacture. Then, too, Polemarchus could indulge his taste for philosophy in the society of the sophists who were gathered

³⁷ Plat. *Phaedr.* 257 B; Plut. p. 998 B. *Hist. of Greece*, XLVII; Curtius, *Hist.*

³⁸ Dion. H. § 1; Ps.-Plut. § 2.

³⁹ Dion. H. § 1; Ps.-Plut. § 3; Grote,

of Greece, II, p. 535.

⁴⁰ See notes 28 and 34.

there from the different parts of Hellas, and we have no reason to doubt the story that it was in Thurii that Lysias first studied the principles of rhetoric from the Sicilian masters of the art.⁴¹ It may be that one of his masters in Thurii was Tisias,⁴² the pupil of Corax.⁴³ There is a legend that among the rhetorical exercises of Lysias, written at this period, was a speech in which Nicias, the noble but unfortunate general, was represented as suing for his life from his Sicilian captors ; but, even aside from the style of the only fragment which remains of this work, it seems highly improbable that Lysias could have found time for such a composition at the moment of the Athenian defeat.⁴⁴

17. For the prosperous life of the two brothers in Thurii was brought to a sudden end. In spite of Dorian and Locrian influences which had always been at work in the colony, the Athenian party, with its democratic ideas, managed to keep the upper hand until the disaster to the Athenian arms in Syracuse. This fatal event was naturally a great blow to Athenian power in the West. There was a revolution in Thurii, and three hundred Athenians, among them Lysias and Polemarchus, were banished for 'Atticism.'⁴⁵ They returned to Athens and found the Four Hundred in power there. Then followed the most stirring part of the Peloponnesian war ; but Lysias and his brother, as metics, were shut out from taking any active part in politics. Such duties as they owed the State (the *εισφοραί*, *χορηγία*, and the more voluntary *λύσις αἰχμαλώτων*) were generously performed,⁴⁶ but their main interests were business,

⁴¹ On the beginnings of rhetoric and of artistic oratory, see Jebb, *ibid.* I, p. cxvii ff.; Blass, *ibid.* I, p. 1 ff.

⁴² So Ps.-Plut. § 3. But possibly Lysias first heard him later in life, in Athens, where Tisias was the master of Isocrates ; see Dion. H. *Vit. Isocr.* § 1.

⁴³ On Tisias and Corax, see above, § 11.

⁴⁴ Blass, *ibid.* p. 347; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 147.

⁴⁵ Dion. H. § 1; Ps.-Plut. § 4.

⁴⁶ XII. 20. On the duties and burdens of metics, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 178 ff.

study, and social life. In their financial position, they were prosperous. Inheriting the capital of their rich father, they were wealthy,⁴⁷ and to increase this wealth they carried on an arms factory (probably also inherited) in which were employed one hundred and twenty slaves.⁴⁸ They owned also three houses,⁴⁹ which were richly furnished with all the necessaries and luxuries of life.⁵⁰ We have the express statement of the pseudo-Plutarch, that Lysias was an *isoteles*⁵¹ like his father.

18. While Cephalus was alive, his sons seem to have lived with him in the Piraeus.⁵² After their return from Thurii, Polemarchus seems to have lived in Athens,⁵³ and Lysias in the Piraeus.⁵⁴ Their life was untroubled by that bane of Athens, the lawsuit,⁵⁵ and there is no evidence that, at this period, Lysias wrote speeches even for others to deliver in the courts.⁵⁶ Such employment was not necessary, for he was rich enough to live without the additional income which he might thus have gained. But his thoughts were not altogether occupied with his business, as his sophistic writings, later to be noticed, clearly show. There is also a story told by Aristotle (in Cicero's *Brutus*, § 48) that Lysias kept a school of oratory for a time, but soon closed it, owing to the successful rivalry of Theodorus. This story may be partly true. Lysias is called a sophist in the pseudo-Demosthenic oration against Neaera (§ 21) and he appears as such in his epideictic orations and in the erotic essay in Plato's *Phaedrus*.

⁴⁷ XII. 6, 9, 11.

⁵³ XII. 16.

⁴⁸ XII. 8, 19.

⁵⁴ Cf. the story of Lysias's arrest,

⁴⁹ XII. 18.

⁵⁰ XII. 18 f.

which seems to have been made in the

⁵¹ Ps.-Plut. § 9. And so doubtless was his brother. Boeckh (*Staatsh.* I,

Piraeus (XII. 8, 12, 16), with Plat.

p. 177) thought that the ownership of houses was in itself a proof of *Isoteles*; but see above, note 33.

Phaedr. 227 B.

⁵² Plat. *Rep.* 328 B.

⁵⁵ XII. 3 f.

⁵⁶ Blass, *ibid.* p. 348. Neither oration XX nor XIV is the genuine production of Lysias.

19. Thus, for seven years, the brothers lived in apparent security,—the favourites of fortune, working only as the rich man who labours merely to increase his wealth. But the sure march of events was bringing disaster upon them in common with their adopted country. In swift sequence came the disaster at Aegos Potami, the siege and fall of Athens, and the brief but blood-stained episode of the Thirty Tyrants. The few months of their misgovernment was a perfect reign of terror. One day was enough to decide the fate of Lysias and his family. The morning saw him honoured and happy, beloved by a large circle of friends, the wealthy owner of houses, manufactories, and slaves,—at noon he was the prisoner of the Thirty,—the darkness of the night covered his flight from Athens,—his brother lay murdered, and the bulk of his possessions were confiscated by the plundering tyrants. The exciting story of that day is preserved in his own words,⁵⁷ spoken when, after the restoration of the democracy, he returned to Athens and sought vengeance on his brother's murderers.

20. The calamity which thus befell Lysias, great though it was, cannot have amounted to utter financial ruin if there is anything in the stories of his generosity towards the cause of the patriots in exile. Late as these stories are, yet they doubtless contain at least some grains of truth, and may have been drawn from his own speech *On his Services*.⁵⁸ It is said that he contributed 2000 drachmae to the funds of the exiles,⁵⁹ furnished from two hundred to five hundred shields,⁶⁰ and paid the wages of three hundred soldiers, who were hired from Aegina.⁶¹ This

⁵⁷ XII. 8 ff. For the general history of the Thirty Tyrants, see Grote, *Hist. of Greece*, chap. LXV; Curtius, IV, chap. 1. See also the Chronological table, below, p. 209.

⁵⁸ See below, § 21. On the help

given by the metics in general to the exiles, cf. XXXI. 29.

⁵⁹ Ps.-Plut. § 7; Phot.

⁶⁰ Ps.-Plut. § 7; Phot.; Schol. Aeschin. *Ctes.* § 105; Justin. v. 9. 9.

⁶¹ Schol. Aeschin. *ibid.*

last item may be an exaggeration which grew out of his mission with Hermon to hire these mercenaries.⁶² He is said also to have persuaded his guest-friend Thrasydaeus of Elis to contribute two talents.⁶³ We hear nothing further of his life during the months of exile.

21. For his patriotic services in this time of need, Lysias enjoyed for a moment the highest reward which the Athenians had the power to give, but it was snatched away almost before he could have appreciated that it was his. Immediately after the return of the exiles, the Assembly passed a decree, proposed by Thrasybulus, under which full citizenship was given to Lysias. But this decree was clearly unconstitutional; for, as the Senate was not yet re-established, the decree had not been submitted to it, as the law of the democracy required, before being proposed to the people. Hence, Archinus brought a *γραφὴ παρανόμων* against Thrasybulus, carried his point, and Lysias fell back to his former status as a metic.⁶⁴ Such is the traditional account of this affair; but it now appears from a passage in Aristotle's *Constitution of Athens* that the decree of Thrasybulus did not concern Lysias alone,⁶⁵ but that it gave the citizenship to all (even to slaves) who had returned from the Piraeus with the exiles. It was natural enough that such a wholesale act, even aside from its illegality, should have excited indignation, and the new light from Aristotle renders unnecessary the ingenious

⁶² Ps.-Plut. § 7; Phot.

⁶³ Ps.-Plut. § 7; Phot.; cf. Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 2. 27.

⁶⁴ On the whole story, cf. Ps.-Plut. § 8; Phot.; Schol. Aeschin. III. § 195; Schol. Hermog. in Walz, *Rhet. Graec.* V, p. 343. On the *γραφὴ παρανόμων*, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 299; M. and S. p. 428 ff.

⁶⁵ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 40. 2. If the scholiasts and late writers drew their information from Lysias *On his own Services*, the language of the speech made it natural that they should suppose that the decree applied only to him.

conjectures⁶⁶ which have been made in order to account for the apparently pointed injustice done to a man who had deserved so well of the State. At some stage of this affair, Lysias seems to have made a speech or published a pamphlet entitled *On his own Services*, a work which has survived only in a few words quoted here and there,⁶⁷ but which doubtless provided the ancient biographers with many facts for their accounts of his life.

22. Reduced once more to the status of a metic and to comparative, if not actual poverty, Lysias naturally turned for employment to a profession for which his favourite rhetorical studies had prepared him. He became a *λογογράφος*,⁶⁸ and the rest of his life was spent in this profession. The fact that all his known forensic works were composed after his misfortunes shows that loss of money was the cause of his activity. The speechwriter's was not a life which brought a man real glory, in the Athenian sense of the word ; for the speechwriter received pay for his services, and Athenian prejudice forbade a gentleman to receive pay except from the State. There was, too, a feeling in all circles, both high and low, against the man who had the art of 'making the worse cause appear the better.' Neither Lysias nor Demosthenes, therefore, won any great fame among their fellowcitizens in their chosen profession,⁶⁹ although each earned money by it. The industry of Lysias was great: in literary productiveness he far surpassed every other Attic orator.⁷⁰ His attack on Eratosthenes must have been an excellent advertisement for him, and so was that other speech called

⁶⁶ Such as, for instance, that he was distrusted as a sophist. See Blass, *ibid.* p. 349; Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXXV, p. 149. Scheibe (*Jahrb.* XXXI, p. 359) doubted the whole story.

⁶⁷ Harp. 3. v. Κέω, *μετατίρυπος*,

Φηγανῶτι. Cf. Ps.-Plut. § 11, and see Blass, *ibid.* p. 359; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 151 f.

⁶⁸ On this profession, see above, § 13.

⁶⁹ Schaefer, *Demosthenes*², I, p. 342.

⁷⁰ See below, § 33.

a *Plea for the Constitution*, composed about 403 B.C.,⁷¹ and showing the author's true democratic spirit.

23. Not much remains to be said about the events of his life. He was married (we know not when) to his sister's daughter,⁷² but we do not hear that he had children. That he was a well-known personage in Athens must be clear from the nature of the allusions to him in Plato.⁷³ But the story that he was once sent upon an embassy to the elder Dionysius of Syracuse rests without doubt upon a corrupt reading in one of his own works.⁷⁴ It is not likely that a metic would have been selected to represent the State on such a mission. Yet there were occasions when even a metic might display his powers of oratory for the admiration of his fellowmen and to draw attention to his own attainments. Such occasions were offered by the great national gatherings of Greece, the Games. At the most famous of these, the Olympian, there were intellectual as well as athletic exhibitions. In the time of Lysias, an author's surest road to fame lay in the reading or reciting of his own works to the largest possible number of hearers. At Olympia, an orator was sure of an audience gathered from all parts of the Hellenic world. His choice of a subject was naturally influenced by the public events which at the time were most interesting to his hearers. Thus, when Gorgias spoke at Olympia, the Greek States were distracted by civil war and the orator exhorted them to put away their discords and to unite against their common enemy, the barbarian.⁷⁵ At the time of Lysias's Olympic oration,⁷⁶ a new enemy to

⁷¹ Oration xxxiv. See below, § 39.

⁷² [Dem.] lxi. 22, and see above, note 36 and on xxxii. 4. This marriage did not prevent him from having relations with one of the *demi-monde*; cf. [Dem.] *ibid.* 21 ff.; Ath. p. 592 f.; Ps.-Plut. § 15.

⁷³ Plat. *Phaedr.* 227 A-279 A; *Cli-toph.* 406 A; *Rep.* 328 B.

⁷⁴ xix. 19. See Blass, *ibid.* p. 352; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 154.

⁷⁵ Jebb, *ibid.* p. 203 ff.

⁷⁶ Dion. § 29; Ps.-Plut. § 20; Diod. xiv. 109.

Greek freedom had arisen in the west, and against Dionysius, tyrant of Syracuse, he lifted up his voice. Only the first part of the oration is now extant, but it is evidence enough that he was capable of giving wise advice at a grave national crisis.

24. The date of the death of Lysias can be fixed with no greater certainty than that of his birth. The tradition that he lived to be eighty years of age seems to be based on nothing better than conjecture.⁷⁷ His literary life, however, ends for us in 380 B.C., for we hear of no works of his that bear a later date, and it is probable that he died soon afterwards.⁷⁸ The Plutarchian biography preserves eight verses from an elegy upon Lysias, written by Philiscus, the pupil of Isocrates.⁷⁹

25. The lineaments of the orator have been transmitted to us in three Roman replicas of an ancient Greek work, possibly executed in the lifetime of Lysias himself. A print of the finest of them, the bust now in the Museum of Naples, forms the frontispiece of this volume.⁸⁰ It represents Lysias when well past the prime of life. The strong head with its broad, bald forehead, its serious, earnest eyes and fine lips, mark the man successful in the fields alike of thought and of action.

⁷⁷ Dion. § 12. The gossiping Ps.-Plut. § 9 sets his age at seventy-six or eighty-three years, and adds that he saw the boy Demosthenes (born 383 B.C.).

⁷⁸ Blass, *ibid.* p. 344; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 155.

⁷⁹ Ps.-Plut. § 17 f., who calls it an epigram. But it is clearly part of a longer poem, of no special literary value. See Bergk, *Poet. Lyr. Graec.*⁴ II, p. 327.

⁸⁰ Taken from Brunn and Arndt, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*,

Lief. xiv, No. 131. Engraved also in Visconti, *Icon. Gr.* I, Tav. xxviii, p. 337, and in Christ, *Gr. Litteratur-Geschichte*. See also Bernouilli, *Die erhaltenen Bildnisse berühmter Griechen*, p. 15; Furtwängler, *Masterpieces of Greek Sculpture*, p. 81. For the Capitoline replica (in the Room of the Philosophers, No. 96), see Brunn and Arndt, *ibid.* No. 133, and for the replica at Holkham Hall, Michaelis, *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*, p. 317.

STYLE OF LYSIAS.

[*AUTHORITIES.* *Ancient*: Dionysius of Halicarnassus, *Περὶ Αὐτῶν*. *Modern*: Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I, p. 381 ff.; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I, p. 158 ff. The more special works of narrower scope are cited in Blass. See also the authorities named at the head of § 15.]

26. We may well imagine that a career of dependence, coming after independence, was at first irksome to Lysias. Yet the life of a successful Athenian speech-writer, in the sense in which Lysias understood the claims of his profession, was neither inactive nor uninteresting. It demanded not only acquaintance with the laws and with procedure in court, but also deep insight into the character of individuals, and wide knowledge of human nature as a whole. Modern lawyers are spared the problem which Lysias felt that he had to solve. He deemed it not sufficient that the speeches which he wrote should be as perfect as he could make them in the law and the facts of each case. For they were to be delivered not by himself, but by his client; they were written in the first person for that client's own lips; and therefore he conceived that the style and the character of the speech should be in keeping with the station and nature of the man who was to speak it. Strange as it may seem to us, Lysias was the first speech-writer to appreciate the necessity of suiting the speech to the speaker. Before his day, speeches generally bore the same stamp; they were struck out, so to speak, according to a set pattern, they conformed to certain fixed principles of argumentation, and they were decorated with all the finest flowers of rhetoric.⁸¹ The law did not require that the speech should be the genuine composition of the speaker, and early juries did not expect that it would be in keeping with his character. But Lysias saw the intrinsic

⁸¹ Jebb, *ibid.* p. 164.

absurdity of such a system of cut-and-dried speech-writing, and he abandoned it altogether. His method was to study his client's character quite as carefully as his client's case, and to bring out that character in the speech which he put into the client's mouth. He threw aside the mould in which the earlier speech-writers were accustomed to fashion all their productions, and by suiting the speech to the speaker he composed a work not only more admirable from the point of view of literary art, but also better calculated to bring before the judges the actual circumstances, needs and just claims of the individual who was addressing them. The judges seemed to see and to hear the same man, instead of seeing one man and hearing the words of another. Lysias, then, wrote for a client so that he should have, as Jebb puts it, the whole advantage of professional aid while he appeared to be entirely without such aid.⁸² The speeches of Lysias differ from each other as much as did the natures of the men for whom he wrote, and yet they are still alike in one particular: they contain scarcely any of the earlier florid eloquence and poetical ornamentation, but are written in the sober prose of ordinary life. Hence Lysias is the type (and the best type) of the class of orators who composed in what is called the Plain Style (*ἰσχνὸν γένος, genus tenue*).⁸³

27. This suiting of the speech to the speaker is the great discovery and distinction of Lysias, and it is the best evidence of his genius. In close connexion with it, and indeed growing out of his close study of the nature of his clients, stands another of his special points of excellence. This is his success in the *delineation of character* (*ηθοποιία*), whether of the speaker or of

⁸² Jebb, *ibid.* p. 164.

nus dicendi tenue des Redners Lysias;

⁸³ On the Plain Style, see Blass, *ibid.* p. 180 ff.
ibid. p. 388 ff.; Berbig, *Ueber das ge-*

other parties in a suit. As Dionysius in substance says⁸⁴ : “Lysias proved himself the superior of all other orators in perception of human nature, and in assigning to each individual his appropriate emotions, characteristics, and actions. And therefore I accord to him the highest praise for his talent and skill in the employment of *ethopoia*, as I can find no character in his works poorly delineated or lifeless. Excelling in the treatment of those features in which *ethopoia* appears, namely, in thought, language and style, he not only lends to his clients the sentiments which are proper and useful and moderate, so that their speeches seem to be portraits of their characters, but also places in their mouths language which is both appropriate and clear, literal and popular. For lofty, strange, and studied terms ill befit true character-painting. Furthermore, his style of composition is plain and simple, for he recognized that the natural home of *ethos* is not in the periodic or rhythmic style, but ἐν τῇ διαλελυμένῃ λέξει. In every respect, Lysias’ style is pleasing and persuasive, and it is so natural and easy, without any appearance of effort or of art, that I should not be surprised if laymen—yes, and even many scholars themselves—thought the result to have been reached without study and without the use of rhetorical methods.”⁸⁵ And in another chapter⁸⁶ Dionysius says in effect : “Of *ethos*, Lysias made most skilful use ; for frequently by reference to his client’s past life and actions, to his character and habits, he portrays him as worthy of confidence and respect. When his life affords no opportunity for this method of treatment, Lysias himself makes up such a character for his client that he is deemed entirely trustworthy. For he represents his conduct

⁸⁴ I use (with a few slight changes) the paraphrase by Devries in his interesting and scholarly *Ethopoia: A Rhetorical Study of the Types of Char-*

acter in the *Orations of Lysias*. Baltimore, 1892. From this treatise I have derived much assistance.

⁸⁵ Dion. H. § 7 f.

⁸⁶ § 19.

as polite and graceful and modest, and makes him use language befitting such conduct. His client is always distressed at injustice and is always endeavouring to act with justice. The orator does not fail to introduce every detail that will serve these ends."

28. Such are the views of the Greek critic on Lysias' skill in *ethopoia*. Even from the few orations contained in this volume we can see what his power was in this direction. How different are the pictures and how each stands out distinct from its own canvas ! What a contrast between Mantitheus,⁸⁷ the brilliant, open-hearted, ambitious young patriot, and P'lilon,⁸⁸ the cowardly selfish miscreant who sacrifices his family and his country alike to his own interests ! Compare the honest, straight-forward yeoman of the Olive Tree case⁸⁹ and the affected, over-clever Cripple⁹⁰ with his impudent wit. The accuser of Philon is a dignified senator, coming forward, like the prosecutor of the Grain-Dealers,⁹¹ from a sense of the duty which he owes to the State ; and if his language is somewhat more rhetorical than that of other clients of Lysias, this is only natural to his position.⁹² On the other hand, the defendant in the Twenty-third oration is represented as a mere adventurer, posing as a citizen, but really belonging to the lowest class in the commonwealth.⁹³ Finally, in the Thirty-second oration we find three characters so clearly and successfully drawn that they are as real to the reader as are any of the personages in the pages of the great masters of English fiction. There is the speaker, naïve and full of kindly sympathy for the widow and orphans, but animated by a just bitterness against the dishonest guardian⁹⁴ ; the widow, a noble and pathetic creature, who, like a

⁸⁷ Or. xvi. See Devries, p. 18 ff.

⁹¹ Or. xxii.

⁸⁸ Or. xxxi. See Devries, p. 28.

⁹² See below, p. 135, and Devries,

⁸⁹ Or. vii. See Devries, p. 33.

p. 26 f.

⁹³ See Devries, p. 42.

⁹⁰ Or. xxiv. See Devries, p. 34 ff.

⁹⁴ *Ibid.* p. 34.

true woman, breaks down (for her children's sake, not for her own) all the barriers of convention behind which the women of her day were wont to live⁹⁵; and Diogiton himself, unnatural father, cruel guardian, gibbeted forever on the page of Lysias as one of the meanest and most heartless men of that or any other day.⁹⁶

29. Besides this excellence in *ἡθοποιίᾳ*, Dionysius selects and praises seven other characteristics of the style of Lysias, which may here be summarized. They are Purity, Simplicity, Clearness, Brevity, Vividness, Propriety, and Charm. The ancient critic calls Lysias pure in diction (*καθαρὸς τὴν ἐρμηνείαν*),⁹⁷ and the best model of Attic Greek in this respect; not, he adds, of the older Attic used by Plato and Thucydides, but of the Attic in common use in Lysias's own time. By the term 'Purity,' Dionysius means that Lysias does not use obsolete, strange or poetical words, and that he employs no constructions foreign to the idiom of his day.⁹⁸ Dionysius pronounces that no orator surpassed Lysias in Purity, and that only Isocrates even approached him. The second quality, Simplicity,⁹⁹ consists in the expression of the thought by means of ordinary words used in their ordinary sense. Lysias avoids all but the commonest figures of speech, and his metaphors are such as come unconsciously to the lips of the most uninstructed speaker. This literary attitude is perfectly suited, as Fuhr remarks,¹⁰⁰ to the circle in which his orations are confined. Unusual

⁹⁵ *Ibid.* p. 47 f.

⁹⁶ *Ibid.* p. 28. ⁹⁷ § 2.

⁹⁸ Blass, *ibid.* p. 407 f.; Jebb, *ibid.*

p. 168. About the only instance of older syntax noted in Lysias is the use of *τέ* as a simple conjunction; see on **xxxii. 2.** The somewhat rare and poetical words noted in *Or. xxiv* are perfectly in keeping with the tone of

mock elevation there. A few others are noted in Jebb, p. 169; Blass, p. 408 f.

⁹⁹ ἡ διὰ τῶν κυρίων τε καὶ κοινῶν καὶ ἐν μέσῳ κειμένων δυομάτων ἐκφέροντα τὰ ποιήμενα, Dion. H. § 3. See Blass, *ibid.* p. 409 f.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 169 f.

¹⁰⁰ In the introduction to his revision of Rauchenstein's edition, p. 8.

metaphors and, in general, figures of speech belong to the higher style of public oratory, although even here the great master Demosthenes is sparing in his use of them. They are entirely out of place in everyday lawsuits, the parties to which are ordinary citizens.¹⁰¹ The earlier orators, in their choice of words, had recourse, in search of the sublime, to the language of poetry; Lysias found the way to a greater effect through the use of the commonest words, so combined, however, that often, when he seems to speak like the plainest citizen, he is in reality most artistic.

30. No writer, Dionysius goes on, has ever surpassed Lysias in Clearness (*σαφήνεια*).¹⁰² Even those to whom his matter is strangest rarely find his expression obscure. In this he differs from Thucydides and even from Demosthenes; for in their writings it may often happen that we understand the subject with which they are dealing and yet find difficulties in apprehending their language. On the subject of the Brevity (*βραχύτης*) of Lysias, which is the fourth of the qualities selected by Dionysius,¹⁰³ we have a dictum of the Roman critic Favorinus,¹⁰⁴ who used to say: “if you take away or alter a single word in a passage of Lysias, no matter how carefully you go about it, you spoil the meaning of the passage.”¹⁰⁵ There are of course exceptions to this, as to all other generalizations, and some of them (due for instance to Lysias’s fondness for parallelism, symmetry, and synonymous expressions) are noted as they occur in the speeches.

¹⁰¹ On Lysias’s use of figures, see Blass, *ibid.* p. 409 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 170 ff. For *paronomasia* and *homoeoteleuton*, see on xii. 78, and p. 135, note 19; *antithesis*, xxiv. 16, and p. 135, note 19; *chiasm*, xvi. 18, xxxi. 5, 12, 32; *synonymous phrases*, xvi. 13.

¹⁰² § 4. See Jebb, *ibid.* p. 171.

¹⁰³ § 5. See Jebb, *ibid.* p. 171; Blass, *ibid.* p. 411.

¹⁰⁴ Second century A.D., the master of Gellius.

¹⁰⁵ Gell. ii. 5.

31. The fifth quality, Vividness (*ἐνάργεια*), Dionysius¹⁰⁶ defines as the power of making one's hearers see what is being described. He truly adds that nobody can be so dull of apprehension as not to believe that he has almost under his very eyes the scenes of Lysias's narratives and that he is associating with the personages introduced in them. A good test of the truth of this saying is the description of Lysias's own arrest by the Thirty and his escape from their clutches¹⁰⁷; or the scene in the oration against Diogiton where the mother of the boys upbraids her father for his heartlessness.¹⁰⁸ The quality of Propriety (*τὸ πρέπον*)¹⁰⁹ differs from *ἡθονοιά* in that the latter is the delineation of the character proper to the speaker or to a personage in his speech; while Propriety is a wider term, denoting the proper adaptation of the speech to all the circumstances. These of course differ with every case, and in the different parts of a speech Propriety will call for a change of tone to accord with the station of the different persons addressed, whether judges, opponent, audience, bystanders, friends or foes in general. In this quality Dionysius is of opinion that Lysias was never excelled.

32. There remains finally the quality which Dionysius¹¹⁰ calls the best and the most characteristic of the style of Lysias, — a crowning excellence wherein he surpassed all the other great orators. This is a kind of Charm which lies efflorescent upon all his language (*χάρις τις πᾶσιν ἐπανθοῦσα τοῖς ὀνόμασι*). It cannot be analyzed, says Dionysius, any more than one can analyze the true essence of physical beauty, the delight of harmony, or the delicacy of rhythm. These are all qualities to be appreciated by the aesthetic sensibilities, not to be explained

¹⁰⁶ § 7. See Jebb, *ibid.* p. 172 f.

¹⁰⁷ Cf. xii. 8-16.

¹⁰⁸ Cf. xxxii. 12-18.

¹⁰⁹ § 9. See Jebb, *ibid.* p. 176.

¹¹⁰ § 10-12. See Blass, *ibid.* p.

397 f.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 176 ff.

by rational analysis. The ancient critic does not attempt to define more closely the Charm of Lysias. He only tells us that when all other means fail in determining the authenticity of a speech attributed to this orator, he applies to it the test of this surpassing distinction. If the Charm is there, the speech is genuine ; but if the language has not the distinctive mark of sweetness and loveliness (*ἔὰν δὲ μηδεμίαν ἡδονὴν μηδὲ ἀφροδίτην ὁ τῆς λέξεως χαρακτήρ ἔχῃ*), the work is to be rejected. It is evident that such a fleeting quality as this can hardly be felt in its fulness by the modern scholar who has not at hand, for purposes of study and comparison, the countless ancient works which, familiar to Dionysius, are now altogether lost. We can feel that Lysias is simple and clear, brief, vigorous and active ; seldom dry or monotonous ; almost always alive and sprightly. We can see in his language the speech of everyday life and the literary idiom most happily combined. But not any one nor all of these qualities were what Dionysius meant by the Charm. We must take the word of the great critic that it is there, and endeavour by constant reading and re-reading to gain some appreciation of its nature.

WORKS OF LYSIAS.

[AUTHORITIES. Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I, p. 353 ff.; Sittl, *Geschichte der Griechischen Litteratur*, II, p. 143 ff.; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I, p. 199 ff.; Mahaffy, *History of Classical Greek Literature*, II, i. p. 143 ff. See also above, at the head of § 15.]

33. The career of Lysias as a speech-writer lies, as has been said, between the years 403 and 380 B.C. In these twenty-three years, his industry and reputation in his profession must have been of the greatest; for he wrote at least double the number of

speeches attributed to any other Attic orator.¹¹¹ In explanation of his fertility, Blass observes that Lysias, being a metic, was debarred from the public business which demanded much of the time of men like Demosthenes and Hyperides; and that in his day there were fewer men engaged in his profession than in the time of the later orators; further, that his younger contemporary and principal rival, Isocrates, was much occupied in teaching rhetoric in his school. This is all true enough. But it would be unfair to the fame of Lysias to suppose that such negative reasons for his preëminence in production are the only ones that existed. It is far more natural to believe that his speeches had the reputation of being the best that could be had; and the remarkable art with which he suited the speech to the character of the speaker must have been as highly appreciated by his contemporaries as it is by us. His misfortunes under the Thirty, the generous part which he had played during the exile of the patriots, and his public appearance against Eratosthenes, all no doubt commended him to the people at large; while his relations with a certain class of men of education and literary tastes, so evident from the allusions to him in Plato, may naturally have led them to apply to him in case of need. And the tradition that he failed in but two suits,¹¹² exaggerated though it may be, is yet exactly the sort of story that one expects to find told of the favourite counsel of the day.

34. As time went on, it was only natural that many speeches were attributed to Lysias which were not his genuine works. Any good speech which bore the stamp of the Plain Style was, in a loose way, supposed to be his. Nothing, apparently, was done to sift out his real works from the spurious before the recensions of Caecilius and of Dionysius of Halicarnassus,

¹¹¹ See Blass, *ibid.* p. 353; Jebb, ¹¹² Ps.-Plut. § 10.
ibid. p. 152.

rhetoricians of the Augustan age.¹¹³ They found 425 works attributed to him, but they threw out 192 as spurious, retaining 233 as genuine.¹¹⁴ Of the 425, we know 172 by title or from fragments, or by the preservation of them entire.¹¹⁵ Of these 172, there are extant 31 complete orations in the Palatine manuscript,¹¹⁶ large fragments of three other orations which were quoted by Dionysius as examples of the art of Lysias, and the *Eroticus* or speech on Love, found in the *Phaedrus* of Plato. Of the remaining 137, we have only fragments or merely the titles, but even these show marvellously well the varied business which occupied Athenian speech-writers.

35. The thirty-one orations preserved in the Palatine manuscript seem to have been selected from a complete edition of the works of Lysias. They fall into three divisions.¹¹⁷ The first consists of the first oration, spoken in a murder trial, and the second, the spurious funeral oration. The latter and the *Olympiacus* are the only two *epideictic* or 'show' pieces which we have under the name of Lysias. The orations in the second division (III to XI inclusive) seem to be arranged with reference to the kind of case for which they were written. Thus, the third and fourth orations are on wounding with murderous intent; the fifth, sixth and seventh are on sacrilege; the eighth to the eleventh inclusive (except the eighth which has found its way here accidentally) were written for libel suits. The orations in the third division (XII to XXXI inclusive)

¹¹³ On them, see Jebb, *ibid.* p. lxiv. ff.

ibid. p. 355; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 199. Among the most famous of the spurious works was the *Defence of Socrates*; see Blass, p. 351; Jebb, p. 153.

¹¹⁴ It is not known whether Dionysius or Caecilius first fixed upon this number. The ancient followers of both critics seem to have adopted it. Cf. Ps.-Plut. § 10; Phot.; Dion. H.

¹¹⁵ §§ 17 and 12; Suidas (in whom the number 300 may be due to an error in writing the numeral 'r' for 'σ'); Blass,

¹¹⁶ For a complete list, see Blass, *ibid.* pp. 357-375.

¹¹⁷ See Appendix I A, MANUSCRIPTS.

¹¹⁸ See Blass, *ibid.* p. 377 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.* p. 201.

cannot be classified, but may have been selected by the compiler each for its individual interest. Of these thirty-one speeches, six certainly seem to be spurious, namely, orations II, VI, VIII, IX, XI, XX; and orations XIV and XV probably fall under this category.¹¹⁸ Hence there are twenty-six orations (twenty-three in the manuscript and three in Dionysius) which are now commonly received as genuine works of Lysias. The subjects of these speeches call for brief consideration here.

36. Twenty-four of the twenty-six speeches were written for delivery in court (*λόγοι δικαινικοί*) and fall into two classes: speeches intended for public and speeches for private causes. This classification depends upon the ground of complaint (*ἔγκλημα*). If this ground was an offence against the State, the action was a public action (*ἀγών δημόσιος* or *δίκη δημοσία*, or simply *γραφή*); if it lay in an offence against an individual, the action was a private action (*ἀγών ἴδιος* or *δίκη ἴδια*, or simply *δίκη*).¹¹⁹ The term public action naturally covers a wide field, for the interests of the State are widespread. The speeches of Lysias which fall under this head were written for the actual litigants or for public prosecutors (*συνήγοροι*).¹²⁰ This *συνήγορος* was a person chosen by the State to defend its interests, and he might of course engage the services of a speech-writer. As for private individuals, we have seen above that the law required them to plead their own causes; but there were natural exceptions to this rule. Such was the case of Miltiades, who was accused of treason when wounded and unable to speak for himself. He was brought into court on a litter and his brother was allowed to speak for him.¹²¹ A similar case was that of

¹¹⁸ For the grounds of rejection, see the treatment of each speech in Blass and Jebb.

¹¹⁹ On this division, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 404; M. and S. p. 191 ff.

¹²⁰ On *συνήγοροι*, public and private, see Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Synegorus*.

¹²¹ Nepos, *Milt.* 7. His friends were his advocates, according to Hdt. vi, 136.

Isocrates, who was unable from illness to appear in court and was represented by his son. But even when a suitor was able to speak and had introduced his case himself, custom allowed a second or even a third speech to follow on the same side. The person who spoke such an additional speech was also called *συνήγορος*, and out of him, rather than out of the *λογογράφος*, developed the modern lawyer. For the actual suitor, after the briefest introduction, might practically disappear from the case, leaving the real speech to be made by his *συνήγορος*. According to the law, this private *συνήγορος* or advocate could receive no pay from the suitor : he was supposed to be no more than a kinsman or friend who spoke simply out of sympathy, and his speech usually began with an explanation of the personal interest which led him to appear.¹²² In the generation after Lysias, such private advocacy was often paid for,¹²³—under the rose indeed, and subject to the risk of legal penalties.¹²⁴

37. The public orations of Lysias, therefore, were written for the real suitors, or for *συνήγοροι*, public or private. Among them we find cases in which the alleged offence was committed directly against the State, such as embezzlement of the public funds¹²⁵ or such misconduct in office as would be made the subject of inquiry at the *εὑθυναι*.¹²⁶ An offence against the people as a whole was the attempt of the Corn-Ring to buy up a large quantity of grain at a low price, to hold it until the supply in the market was small, and then to sell it at a large advance. There were stringent laws against such speculation.¹²⁷ Other public causes related to claims for moneys due the Treasury or to confiscations¹²⁸; another class consisted of cases

¹²² Cf. Or. xxxii.

¹²⁶ Or. xxviii, xxix.

¹²³ Cf. Lycurg. *Lexer.* 138.

¹²⁶ Or. xii, xxi, xxvii; cf. xxx, an

¹²⁴ Cf. [Dem.] xlvi. 20. For the similar law in Rome, see Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s. v. *Lex Cincia*. ¹²⁷ *εἰσαγγελία* for neglect to come up for the *εὑθυναι*. ¹²⁸ See on Or. xxii.

¹²⁸ Or. xviii, xix.

against persons accused of sacrilege or impiety against the State religion.¹²⁹ We have also five speeches either for or against candidates undergoing examination for office, the *δοκιμαστα*.¹³⁰ Again, in murder cases and in assaults with intent to wound, the State was the offended party, as it is to-day. We have already noticed the speech against Eratosthenes¹³¹ at his *εὐθυναι*. Closely connected with this case is that of the villainous informer Agoratus, who had lived five years in Athens, plying his infamous trade.¹³² A case of a different sort is the charge brought against a man of the middle class who had killed his wife's lover.¹³³ This speech is very valuable to us because it vividly illustrates the manner of life in a small Athenian household where only one servant was kept. We have a full description of the house and the housekeeping. The accused, for whom Lysias wrote the speech in question, gives an interesting picture of the position of a woman of the *bourgeois* class. Speaking as though he considered himself a pattern for all husbands to follow, he says :

“The way I treated my wife was this: I tried not to disoblige her when she wanted to do anything, and not to be under her thumb, either. I kept my eye on her all I could, and gave all reasonable attention to her. When she had borne me a child, I gave her my confidence and all my household to look after. This was my notion of matrimony. Now at first, Athenians, she was just the best wife that ever lived; she was a mighty good provider, didn't waste things, and kept house very shrewdly. But my mother died, more's the pity, and her death was the beginning of all my troubles. My wife went to the funeral, and there that man caught sight of her.”¹³⁴

¹²⁹ Or. v, vii.

¹³² Or. xiii.

¹³⁰ Or. xvi, xxiv, xxv, xxvi, xxxi.

¹³³ Or. i.

¹³¹ See § 19.

¹³⁴ Cf. i. 6 f.

38. We have only four speeches written by Lysias for private actions, but the suits, fortunately, were all different in subject. One was an action for libel, brought by a man who had been publicly called a parricide.¹³⁵ Another was laid by a ward against his guardian, for mal-administration of the trust estate.¹³⁶ The third was written for the trial of a disputed claim to property,¹³⁷ and in the fourth a man is accused of claiming, unlawfully, the right to citizenship.¹³⁸

39. Twenty-four of the twenty-six speeches of Lysias have now been considered. Two remain, his only extant works which were not written for the law-courts. One of them was composed for a citizen to deliver in the Assembly (*λόγος δημητορικός*), at a time shortly after the fall of the Thirty, when there was a question of changing the constitution of Athens by restricting the franchise to owners of real estate.¹³⁹ The other was the Olympic oration, a 'show piece' (*λόγος ἐπιδεικτικός*), which we have already examined.¹⁴⁰

40. Among the fragments of Lysias's works are the remains of a few letters, which are, all except one, of an erotic nature. Indeed, he first gave the letter its place among the forms of literature.¹⁴¹ Further, the youthful Phaedrus, in Plato's dialogue of that name, reads to Socrates a discourse on Love, which is, he says, the composition of Lysias. Socrates proceeds to criticise the discourse, much to its discredit. Although the ancient critics accepted the work as the genuine production of Lysias, the question of its authenticity has been much debated by modern scholars; still, the prevailing view now ascribes it to the orator.¹⁴² With such sophistic writings, however, the young student of Attic Oratory is but little

¹³⁵ Or. x.

¹³⁶ Or. xxxii.

¹⁴¹ See Sittl, *Gr. Litteraturgeschichte*,

¹³⁷ Or. xvii.

¹³⁸ Or. xxiii.

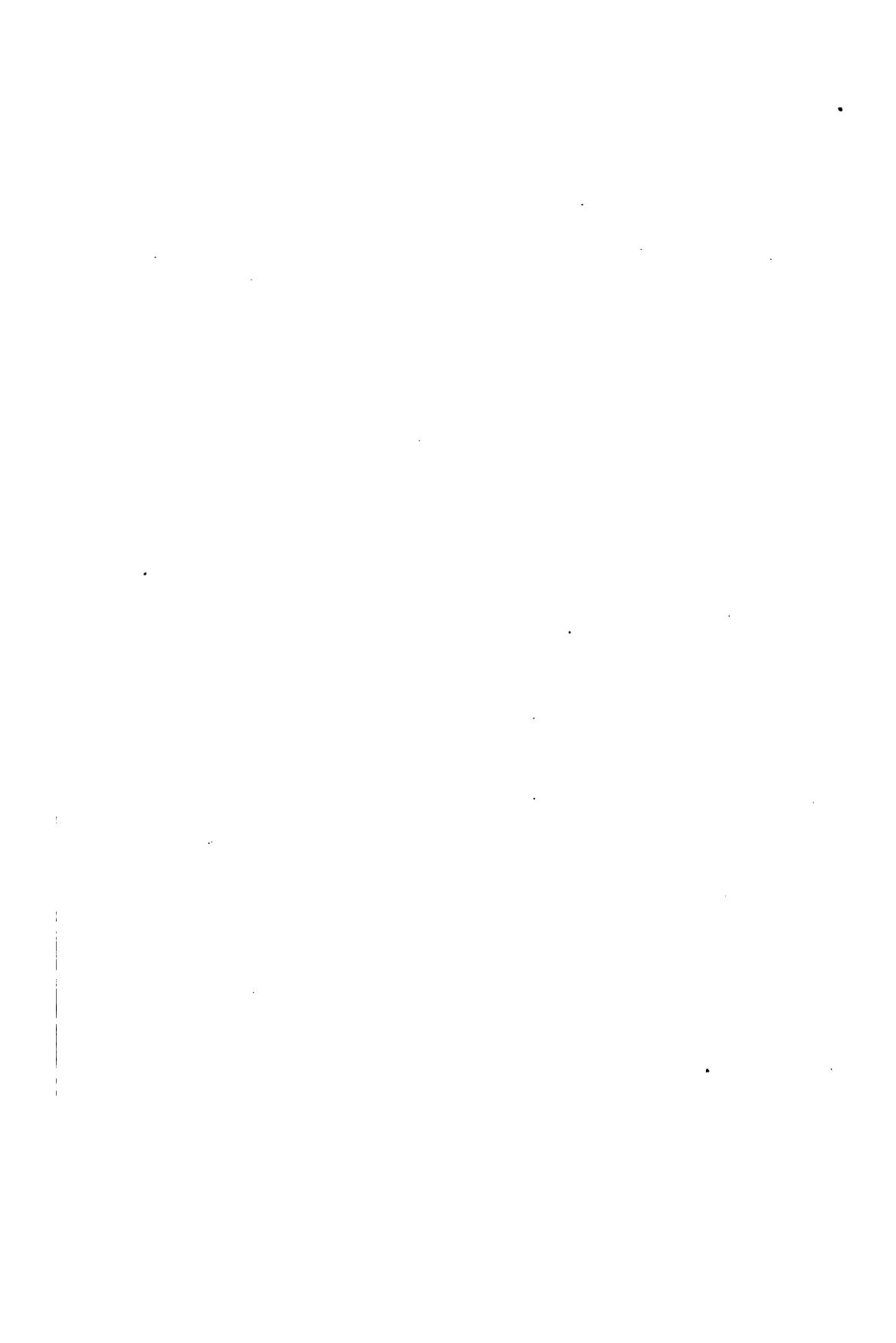
II, p. 144.

¹³⁹ Or. xxxiv. See above, § 22.

¹⁴² Blass, *ibid.* p. 424 ff.; Jebb, *ibid.*

¹⁴⁰ See above, § 23.

p. 305 ff.



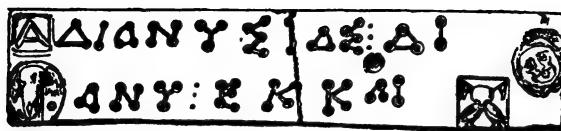


Fig. 1.

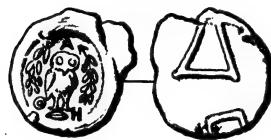


Fig. 2.

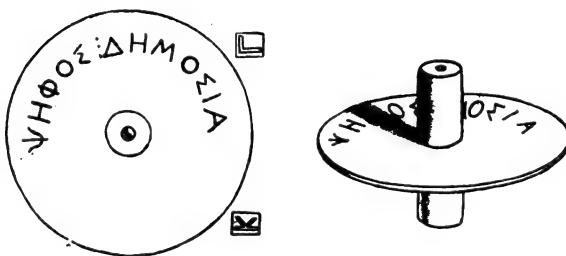


Fig. 3.

concerned. The object of these pages has been to present Lysias as a man of action and as an exponent of Athenian life. Our brief examination of the contents of his works may have sufficed to show what a great treasure-house of facts we have in them. One might almost say that the writings of no other Greek author, except Aristophanes, are so rich in material for the fascinating study of the everyday manners and customs of Athenian antiquity.

PROCEDURE IN HELIASTIC COURTS.

[*AUTHORITIES.* *Ancient*: Aristotle, *Resp. Ath.* 63 ff. *Modern*: Meier and Schoemann, *Der Attische Process*, p. 769 ff.; Gilbert, *Constitutional Antiquities of Athens and Sparta*, English translation, p. 376 ff.; Hermann, *Staatsaltertümter*, p. 538 ff.]

41. Almost all Athenian law cases of any importance,¹⁴³ except those concerning murder and homicide,¹⁴⁴ were, unless settled by arbitration,¹⁴⁵ tried in the Heliastic courts. For these courts, jurors (*ἡλιασταί* or *δικασταί*), frequently called in English *judges* or *dicasts*, were selected annually and formed a body known as the *ἡλιάτα*, which was presided over by the thesmothetae or six junior archons. In the fifth century B.C., the whole number of the jurors chosen each year was six thousand. But after the archonship of Euclides (403 B.C.), when the judicature was reorganized, the number did not exceed five thousand. Any Athenian citizen over thirty years of age and in full possession of civil rights (*i.e.* not suffering

¹⁴³ The judges of the demes (see on **xxiii. 2**) decided cases involving sums of less than ten drachmae.

¹⁴⁴ These crimes were tried in special courts, not here described, as none of

the orations in this volume have to do with such cases. For an account of such courts, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 379 ff.; M. and S. p. 11 ff.

¹⁴⁵ See on **xxxii. 2**.

ἀτιμία¹⁴⁶) might be enrolled as a juror. On entrance into this office he took an oath, the exact form of which is unknown, though it probably ran somewhat as follows: —

ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους καὶ τὰ ψηφίσματα τοῦ δήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς βουλῆς τῶν πεντακοσίων, περὶ δ' ὃν ἀν νόμοι μὴ ὁσι, γνώμη τῆς δικαιοτάτης καὶ οὗτε χάριτος ἐνεκ' οὗτ' ἔχθρας. καὶ ψηφιοῦμαι περὶ αὐτῶν ὃν ἀν ή δίωξις ἡ (I will give my verdict on the actual facts concerned in the prosecution). καὶ ἀκροάσομαι τῶν τε κατηγορούντων καὶ τῶν ἀπολογουμένων ὄμοίως ἀμφοῖν. διμνυμ ταῦτα νὴ τὸν Δία, νὴ τὸν Ἀπόλλω, νὴ τὴν Δήμητρα, καὶ εἴη μέν μοι εὐορκοῦντι πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθά, ἐπιορκοῦντι δέξιάλεια αὐτῷ τε καὶ γένει.¹⁴⁷

42. The whole number of six or five thousand jurymen rarely, if ever, sat together in any one case. The number employed varied according to the importance of the suit or the value of the property involved. No case is known to us on which less than 200 jurors sat, and we find courts consisting of 400, 500, 1000, 2000,¹⁴⁸ and 2500 jurymen mentioned in the authors. In order to avoid a tie, an extra man seems generally to have been added to these round numbers. The whole body of jurors was divided for the year into ten sections, designated by the letters of the alphabet from A to K, each section, in the fourth century, containing members from all the tribes. Each juror was given a ticket or token (*πινάκιον*) made of boxwood or of bronze, inscribed with his own name, the name of his father, the name of his deme and the letter denoting his section.¹⁴⁹ There were ten different court-rooms, and the ten

¹⁴⁶ See below, § 51.

¹⁴⁷ As reconstituted by Fränkel, *Hermes*, XIII, p. 452 ff. See also Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 392; M. and S. p. 152 ff.; and below, on xxii. 7.

¹⁴⁸ Cf. Lys. XIII. 35.

¹⁴⁹ On the *πινάκια* in general, with references to special writings, see Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 397, and Sandys on Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 63. 4. For the inscriptions on extant *πινάκια*, see CIA. II, 875-940. The bronze *πινάκιον* illus-

sections were allotted among these by lots drawn on the days of trials. This was the practice at least during the Peloponnesian War; but in the time of Aristotle, though the sections were retained, the jurors were allotted¹⁵⁰ individually, and not by sections, among the different court-rooms. We cannot determine which of these methods was followed in the time of Lysias's forensic activity.

43. Early in the morning of each day on which the courts were to be held¹⁵¹ the Heliasts assembled, presented their *πινάκια*, and were assigned by lot (whether in sections or individually) to the different courts in which they were to sit in judgment on that day. Each court had its own name,¹⁵² and was further distinguished by the colour of the lintel of its door. Each juryman, on being assigned to a court, was given a staff or *bâton* (*βακτηρία*) of the colour of the court into which he was to go. With this in hand he proceeded to his court, and on entering gave up his staff and received a sort of counter (*σύμβολον*¹⁵³), which he was obliged to show at the end of the day in order to obtain his fee of three obols.

trated (actual size) in Fig. 1 (opp. p. xlivi) is taken from *Annuaire de l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études Grecques*, XII (1878), p. 206, where it was first published. The inscription runs: *Διονύσιος Διονύ (sc. στον) ἐκ Κοι (sc. λης)*. The letter of the section, A, stands in the upper left-hand corner; below it is an owl between the letters A and Θ (for *Αθηναῖον*). On the right is a gorgon's head, and below it the bodies of two owls with a single head between A and Α.

¹⁵⁰ For the complicated method by which they were allotted, see Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 63 ff., and Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 397 ff.

¹⁵¹ Courts ordinarily sat daily except on festivals and unlucky days; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 403.

¹⁵² For the names, see Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 396.

¹⁵³ For the *σύμβολον*, cf. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* col. 32, 13 ff., and see Benndorf in *Zeitschr. für österr. Gymnasialw.* XXVI, 1875, p. 601. Such a *σύμβολον* is illustrated (actual size) in Fig. 2 (opp. p. xlivi), taken from the *Monumenti Inediti*, VIII, tav. 32. The original is of lead, and has on one side the owl and olive-branch (as represented on the three-obol piece) and the abbreviation AΘH, on the other the letter of the section.

44. The furniture of the courts was simple. In each stood a statue of the hero Lycus, of whom little is known save that he was, so to speak, the patron saint of the dicasts. The court was enclosed by railings (*δρύφακτος*), which the public were allowed to approach unless cases involving the religious Mysteries were being tried. Within the railings were wooden benches for the jury. In the fourth century there was a platform or tribune (*Βῆμα*¹⁵⁴) for the presiding magistrate, as well as one for each of the parties to the suit, and one for speakers and witnesses. A water-clock (*κλεψύδρα*) also stood in the court; for, in certain kinds of cases, the time allowed for speeches was limited.¹⁵⁵ There was, too, a table on which stood the voting-urns, to be described below.¹⁵⁶

45. The general division of law-suits (*δίκαι*, the generic term) into public (*γραφαῖ*) and private (*δίκαι*, in the narrower sense) has already been mentioned.¹⁵⁷ Suits were also classed as *δίκαι* *κατά τίνος* or *πρός τίνα*. In the former, the court was asked to punish a defendant for some personal infraction of the laws; in the latter, to decide a question of legal right or title as between two parties. Further, every suit was either an *ἀγών ἀτίμητος* or an *ἀγών τιμητός*. In an *ἀγών ἀτίμητος* the proper penalty (*τίμημα*) was known beforehand, being fixed by law.¹⁵⁸ In an *ἀγών τιμητός*, the jury, if it found the defendant guilty, had next to proceed to determine what penalty he ought to suffer or to pay (*ὅ τι χρὴ παθεῖν ή ἀποτεῖσαι*¹⁵⁹). In such a suit the plaintiff (*ὁ διώκων* or *κατήγορος*) proposed a penalty (*τιμᾶσθαι τῷ φεύγοντι*), the defendant (*ὁ φεύγων*) another (*ἀντιτιμᾶσθαι*),

¹⁵⁴ See on xii. 24.

¹⁵⁷ See above, § 36.

¹⁵⁵ For the clock, see on xxiii. 4, and M. and S. p. 927 ff.; Sandys on

¹⁵⁸ As in the Olive-Tree and Corn-law cases; see pp. 4 and 92.

Arist. *Resp. Ath.* col. 34 f.

¹⁵⁹ Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 36 B; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* col. 35, 21 f.

¹⁵⁶ See p. li.

and the jury appear to have been obliged to choose between these two.¹⁶⁰

46. The actual course of an ordinary law-suit, whether public or private, may now be considered.¹⁶¹ First the plaintiff summoned (*προσκαλεῖσθαι*¹⁶²) the defendant to appear before that magistrate whose duty it was to receive a charge of the sort which was to be made. Thus, Diogiton was summoned before the first archon¹⁶³; the defendant in the Olive-Tree case, before the archon *βασιλεύς*¹⁶⁴; Pancleon, before the third archon, the Polemarch.¹⁶⁵ The magistrate entitled to receive the charges was said to have *ἡγεμονία δικαστηρίου*,¹⁶⁶ — that is, the direction of all the proceedings which followed, including the duty of presiding in the court on the day of the trial. The summons (*πρόσκλησις*) before the magistrate had to be made in the presence of witnesses, generally two, called *κλητῆρες*.¹⁶⁷ At the same time the plaintiff named the day on which he wished the defendant to appear. On or before this day,¹⁶⁸ the plaintiff presented to the magistrate his written indictment (*ληξίς* or *ἔγκλημα*¹⁶⁹), thus lodging his suit (*δίκην λαχεῖν*¹⁷⁰).

¹⁶⁰ It has been thought that the jury were not thus bound, but that they might inflict a punishment of their own choosing. But cf. Arist. *Rep.* *Ath.* col. 36, 35 ff.; and see M. and S. p. 216 ff.; Gilbert, *ibid.* pp. 405, 413.

¹⁶¹ In general, see M. and S. p. 769 ff.; Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 406 ff.

¹⁶² Cf. xxiii. 2.

¹⁶³ See p. 152.

¹⁶⁴ See p. 4.

¹⁶⁵ See p. 105.

¹⁶⁶ See Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 376, and below, p. 75, note 12. This magistrate was sometimes termed *εἰσαγωγεύς*, as he brought the case into court (*εἰσάγειν*) after the preliminary investigation; see M. and S. p. 45.

¹⁶⁷ See on xxiii. 2. In certain cases no summons was required, as in the *ἔφῆγησις* (see on vii. 22) and the *εἰσαγγελία* (cf. xvi. 12, xxxi. 26, and see p. 92). The latter was a denunciation made before the Senate or the Assembly, and it might result in a trial before a Heliastic court.

¹⁶⁸ See M. and S. p. 794, note 111.

¹⁶⁹ In public suits the term *ἀπογραφή* was sometimes used. See on vii. 2 and M. and S. p. 303.

¹⁷⁰ This phrase probably originated in the drawing of lots to determine the order in which suits should come up for investigation.

On the day appointed at the summons, the magistrate announced to the parties whether the suit was or was not *εἰσαγώγυμος*,¹⁷¹ — that is, whether it was in his jurisdiction, and laid in the proper form. Next, if he accepted the suit, he fixed a day for the preliminary investigation (*ἀνάκρισις*), and the plaintiff or both parties (according as the suit was public or private) were required to pay the court fees (*πρυτανεία*¹⁷²). The magistrate, while awaiting the *ἀνάκρισις*, posted the charge in some public place. The following is an example of a charge:—

‘Απολλόδωρος Πασίωνος Ἀχαρνεὺς Στεφάνῳ Μενεκλέους Ἀχαρνεῖ ψευδομαρτυριῶν, τίμημα τάλαντον. τὰ ψευδῆ μου κατεμαρτύρησε Στέφανος μαρτυρήσας τὰ ἐν τῷ γραμματείῳ γεγραμμένα.¹⁷³

The defendant's answer (*ἀντιγραφή*¹⁷⁴) had also to be in writing. To the particular charge just quoted it was as follows:—

τάληθή ἐμαρτύρησα μαρτυρήσας τὰ ἐν τῷ γραμματείῳ γεγραμμένα.

47. At the *ἀνάκρισις*, the written statements of each party were confirmed by them under oath (the *διωμοσία* or *ἀντωμοσία*¹⁷⁵). Then the defendant might put in any objections which he chose to raise to the admissibility of the suit. He might do this, for instance, by a *παραγραφή*¹⁷⁶ or by the *διαμαρτυρία*.¹⁷⁷ If he raised no objection, the *ἀνάκρισις* proceeded. Both sides brought forward all the evidence which they had to offer, whether consisting of laws, decrees, documents of any sort, witnesses with oral testimony or affidavits taken by commissioners, as well as the evidence of slaves, given under the torture.¹⁷⁸ The whole body of evidence, reduced to writing,

¹⁷¹ See p. 105 and on xxiii. 5.

¹⁷⁵ See on xxiii. 13.

¹⁷² See Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 407; M. and S. p. 799 ff.

¹⁷⁶ See p. 104.

¹⁷³ Cf. Dem. xlvi. 46.

¹⁷⁷ See on xxiii. 13, and Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 407.

¹⁷⁴ See below, p. 104, and M. and S. p. 830.

¹⁷⁸ See on vii. 34.

was then sealed up by the magistrate in a box called the *έχινος*, to be kept safely until the day of the trial.

48. At the actual trial, therefore, little remained to complete the case except the speeches on each side and the decision of the jury. The magistrate, the jurors assigned by lot, and the parties to the suit took their places,¹⁷⁹ and the proceedings began with sacrifice and a prayer led by the herald (*κῆρυξ*). The clerk (*γραμματεύς*) then read the charge and the answer to it. Next came the plaintiff's speech, followed by that of the defendant. In many suits, two speeches were allowed to each party, and these entirely aside from such speeches as might always be made by the *συνήγοροι*, whose function has been considered above.¹⁸⁰ Either party might question¹⁸¹ his opponent, who was obliged by law to answer; but there was no oral examination or cross-examination of witnesses at the actual trial. In this respect Athenian procedure was obviously very different from ours. The evidence of the witnesses, given and written down at the *ἀνάκρισις*, was merely read aloud by the clerk at the time of the trial, the witness meanwhile standing on the *βῆμα* used by the speakers. After the reading, the witness acknowledged the evidence as his. Each party to the suit used every effort to influence the jury in his favour, often departing widely from the business in hand (*ἔξω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν*) to call attention to his past services or to enlarge upon his present misfortunes; sometimes the suitor came into court with the suppliant olive branch (*ἰκετηρία*) in his hand; frequently he brought with him his children or other dependent members of his family in order to enlist the sympathy of the jurors. Even tears and lamentations were common enough, for

¹⁷⁹ If the defendant did not appear, he lost his suit by default (see on xxxii. 2); if the accuser was absent, the defendant was acquitted.

¹⁸⁰ See § 36.

¹⁸¹ Cf. xii. 24, xxii. 5.

these and all such appeals to pity as have been mentioned were forbidden only in the Areopagus, where, too, the speaker was expected to keep closely to the real subject.¹⁸²

49. After the speeches, the case was committed to the jury, who proceeded to vote. In the fifth century, the ballots used were muscle shells (*χοιρῖναι*), which were cast into one of two urns, according to the verdict which the juror wished to render. But in the time of the great orators, the ballot (*ψῆφος*) was a bronze disc, having an axis (called *αὐλίσκος*) running through its centre and protruding on either side. The form is well known from extant specimens.¹⁸³ Each juror was given two of these *ψῆφοι*, exactly alike except that in one the axis was solid (*ἡ πλήρης ψῆφος*), in the other perforated (*ἡ τετρυπημένη ψῆφος*). At the time of voting the herald proclaimed: “*ἡ τετρυπημένη τοῦ πρότερον λέγοντος, ἡ δὲ πλήρης τοῦ ὕστερον λέγοντος.*”¹⁸⁴ Hence (since the plaintiff spoke first), the perforated ballot denoted condemnation, and the solid ballot denoted acquittal. At the herald’s summons, the juror took his ballots one in each hand, holding them¹⁸⁵ (probably with

¹⁸² See on VII. 42.

¹⁸³ See Fig. 3 (opp. p. xlivi). The *ψῆφος* there represented (inscribed *ψῆφος δημοσία*, with the letter Γ written on the reverse) was found on the Pnyx in Athens in 1861, and was illustrated and described in the *Annali dell’ Inst. Archeol.* for that year by Rousopoulos; more fully by the same scholar in the *Ἀρχαιολογικὴ Εφημερίς*, 1862, p. 305 ff., with an illustration of the actual size of the original. From this illustration Fig. 3 is taken, but is reduced one half in size. Rousopoulos describes, but does not illustrate, a second *ψῆφος*, exactly like the first except that its *αὐλίσκος* is solid. He also gives a description and an illustration of a third

ψῆφος made of clay, of rude late workmanship, considerably different in appearance from the first two. It could never have been used in the classical period in Athens. Yet Daremberg and Saglio, *Dict. Antiq.* II, Figs. 2415 and 2416, as well as Sandys, *Arist. Resp. Ath.*, frontispiece, publish both the first and the third *ψῆφος* without a word of the distinction which Rousopoulos carefully drew between them.

¹⁸⁴ Cf. *Arist. Resp. Ath.* col. 36, 14 ff.

¹⁸⁵ Arist. *ibid.* 16 ff. says: *ὅ δὲ δικαστὴς . . . πιέζει τὸ μέσον τῆς ψῆφου, καὶ οὐ δεκτῶν τοῖς ἀγωνιζομένοις οὔτε τὸ τετρυπημένον οὔτε τὸ πλήρες ἐμβάλλει τὴν μὲν κυρίαν εἰς τὸν χαλκοῦν ἀμφορέα, τὴν δὲ ἀκυρίαν εἰς τὸν ξύλινον.*

finger and thumb pressing on the extremities of the axes) in such a manner as to allow no bystander to distinguish the *πλήρης* from the *τετρυπημένη*, and approached the voting-table. Here stood two large urns (*καδίσκοι* or *ἀμφορεῖς*), the one of bronze or copper, the other of wood. Into the former (called *ὁ κύριος*) the juror cast the ballot with which he wished to record his verdict; into the latter (*ὁ ἄκυρος*) he cast the other ballot. In this way a secret vote was assured; for nobody save the voter could tell which ballot was deposited in *ὁ κύριος*. After all had voted, the ballots in *ὁ κύριος* were counted by the presiding magistrate, and the verdict thus obtained was announced by the herald.¹⁸⁶ In case of a tie, the defendant won the suit. If the prosecutor in a public suit¹⁸⁷ did not receive one fifth of the votes, he was fined 1000 drachmae and suffered *ἀτιμία* to the extent of being debarred from ever again bringing a suit of the kind which he had lost. In many private suits, if the prosecutor did not obtain the required fifth (*τὸ πέμπτον μέρος*), he was fined the *ἐπωβελία*, — that is, he had to pay the defendant one obol in each drachma's worth (*i.e.* one-sixth of the value) of the property in dispute.¹⁸⁸

50. After the verdict had been announced,¹⁸⁹ it was necessary, if the suit was *τιμητός*, for the jury to decide what the penalty should be (*τιμᾶν τῷ φεύγοντι*). In the fourth century, they did this, after hearing the proposals of each side, by balloting again in the manner just described. In the fifth century, each

¹⁸⁶ On the voting in general, *cf.* Arist. *Resp. Ath.* col. 35, 27 ff., and see M. and S. p. 934 ff.; Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 410 ff.

¹⁸⁷ But not in Olive-Tree suits; see on VII. 37.

¹⁸⁸ See pp. 104, 153, and M. and S. p. 947 ff.; Gilbert, p. 414.

¹⁸⁹ There was no actual appeal, in

our sense of the word, from the verdict of a Heliastic court. A sentence might be annulled if the condemned proved that he was the victim of false witness, or if he showed that he had lost the case by a default when he could not have avoided absence at the fixed time (see on XXXII. 2).

juryman was given a wax tablet on which he drew a long line if he favoured the plaintiff's proposal, a short one if he favoured that of the defendant. This second part of a trial was called the *τέμησις*.

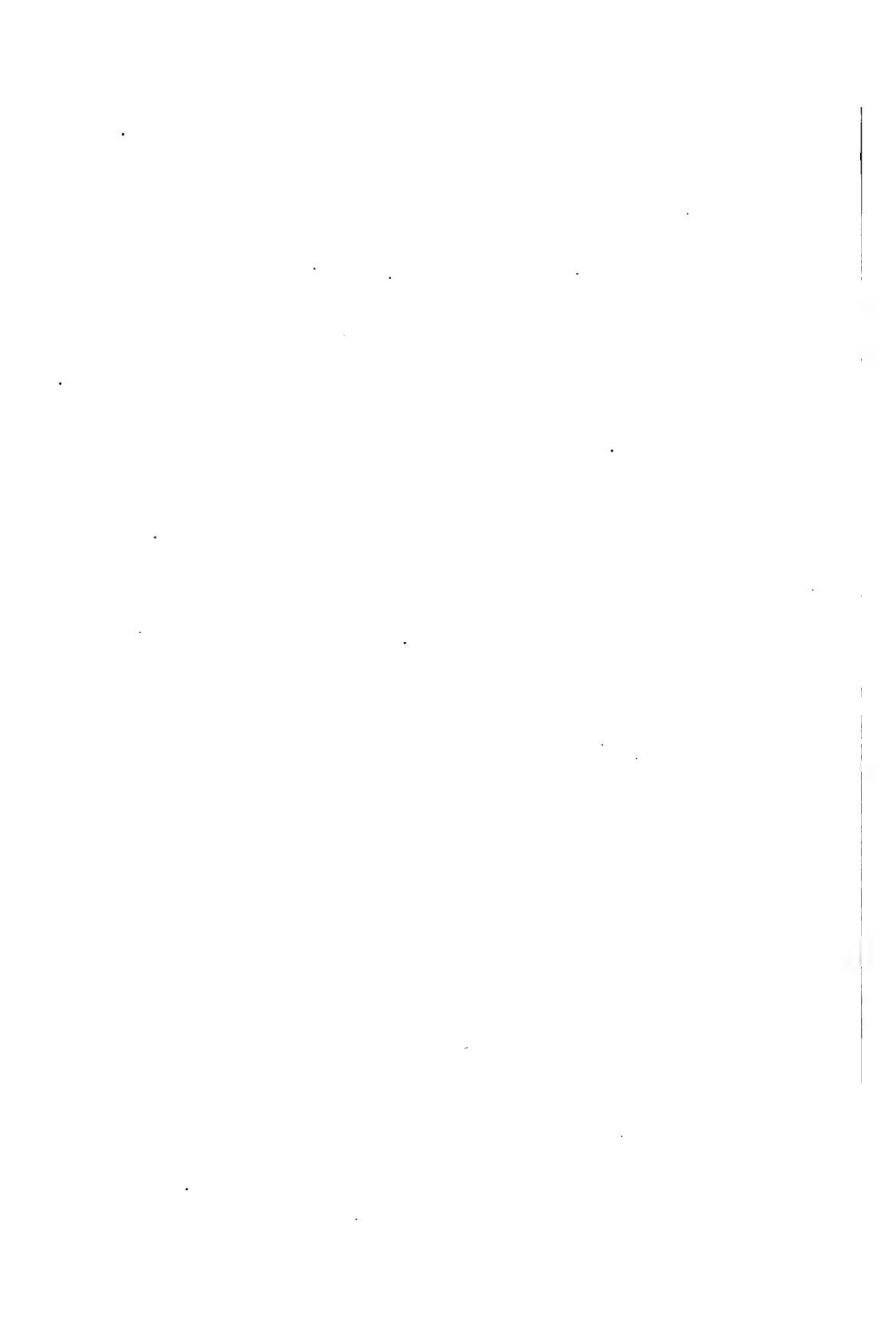
51. The ordinary punishment¹⁸⁰ in most suits consisted of a money fine. Fines were levied far oftener in Athenian cases than in ours, because imprisonment was rarely employed. In fact, our favourite penalty of imprisonment for a fixed period as a punishment for crime, was probably unknown in Athens. A man might be kept in the prison (there was only one in Athens¹⁸¹) until he had paid the fine fixed by a court; he might be imprisoned, in certain cases, while awaiting trial unless he could give the security of fellow-citizens; persons condemned to death, like Socrates, were imprisoned until execution; but all this is very different from our system. Even murderers awaiting trial might be allowed to go at large; for if a murderer was willing to leave the country and go into exile, the State felt that it was rid of a pollution at the cheapest possible rate. And it is to be noted that exile in antiquity meant far more than it does now. A Greek, outside of his own State, had practically no civil rights whatever; and unless he secured the protection of a citizen of the State to which he fled (a difficult matter for a criminal), the laws did not protect him and he was at the mercy of the men among whom he took up his abode. Such being the case, the Athenians naturally employed banishment as one of the severest penalties which could be inflicted upon criminals. The death penalty was also used. Besides fines (extending up to confiscation of property), there was also *ἀτιμία*. This word denoted the partial or total loss of the

¹⁸⁰ On punishments in general, see ¹⁸¹ See M. and S. p. 88; Smith, *Dict.* Gilbert, *ibid.* p. 414; M. and S. p. *Antiq.* s.v. *Carcer.*
956 ff.

rights of citizenship. One form of *ἀτιμία* has already been described,¹⁹² and others are mentioned in the introduction to the Twelfth oration.¹⁹³

¹⁹² See above, § 49.

¹⁹³ See below, p. 30, and on *ἀτιμία* in general, *cf.* And. 1. 73 ff.



ON THE SACRED OLIVE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE olive was pre-eminent over all the productions of the Attic soil for the variety of its uses and for the interesting parts which it played in many departments of public and private life. From the wood, which was so hard as to be all but proof against water, worms, and even time itself, were made joists, oars, handles of various tools, and implements of peace and war. This same quality, together with the ease with which the wood took on a polish, made it an excellent material for graven images.¹ From the sprays and leaves were woven garlands to be worn at festivals or to be the crowns of victors. The fruit, both fresh and preserved, was eaten then as now. But the most highly prized of all its products was the oil. This was used for anointing, both in the baths and the palaestra²; jars of it were given to victorious athletes; it was burnt in the lamps; and finally it was indispensable in cooking and was constantly used as we use butter and lard.³

While the olive was thus to the Greek a necessity of life, to the Athenian it was his country's pride and an emblem of her patron goddess.⁴ For Athens was held to be the native place of the olive, at least so far as Greece was concerned.⁵ There in the Pandroseum⁶ was preserved the first of all olives, planted by Athena herself when she contended for the city against Poseidon.⁷ Close

¹ On the uses of the wood, cf. Blümner, *Technologie*, II, p. 280. In much of the introduction to this speech I have closely followed Frohberger.

² Hermann, *Privatalterthümer*, pp. 213, 281, 350. ³ *Ibid.* p. 228.

⁴ Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 12.

⁵ Hdt. v. 82. But the olive came originally from the Orient; see Hehn, *Kulturpflanzen*, p. 89 ff.

⁶ Harrison, *Mythology and Monuments of Athens*, p. 512.

⁷ Hdt. viii. 55, and on the myths connected with the olive, Bötticher, *Baumkultus*, p. 423 ff.

at hand in the Erechtheum was the ancient olivewood statue of Athena Polias which fell from heaven.⁸ As goddess of the olive, Athena had a special name, Σκιράς,⁹ and a special form of worship,¹⁰ and with her was associated Ζεύς Μόπτος,¹¹ who had an altar in the Academy.¹² Here stood the group of twelve sacred olives¹³ (*μορίαι*), propagated from the first tree, and in their turn the progenitors of the “olive grove of Academe” and of the numerous plantations throughout the country.

The soil of Attica was particularly well suited to the growth of the olive,¹⁴ and the plain¹⁵ of the Cephisus was the place in which the tree did best. This plain is bounded on the north by Parnes and Pentelicus, on the east by Hymettus, on the south by the sea, and on the west by Aegaleus. Here olive culture was most remunerative.¹⁶ The exportation of olives and oil, permitted by Solon though he forbade the exportation of other products,¹⁷ was a most important part of Athenian trade and brought in a large income to the State.¹⁸ In the Roman period it was the chief reliance of impoverished Athens,¹⁹ and it is still among the valued items of the Greek revenue.²⁰ The great statesmen Solon and Pisistratus took pains to encourage the cultivation of the tree,²¹ which, in spite of its extraordinary productive power—for it keeps spreading from scions springing from its own roots²²—needed

⁸ Harrison, *ibid.* p. 495.

⁹ From γῆ σκιρρᾶς, the soil in which the tree thrives, Mommsen, *Heortologie*, p. 54 f. Roscher, *Lexicon der Mythologie*, I, p. 683.

¹⁰ Σκιροφορία, *ibid.*

¹¹ Soph. O. C. 705.

¹² Schol. *ibid.*

¹³ Suid. s. v. Paus. i. 30. 2. Ar. Nub. 1005.

¹⁴ “For Greece the olive zone begins south of the plains of Thessaly, as for Italy it begins south of the plains of Lombardy. The olive is found in Phthiotis and Magnesia; in Epeirus,

only on the sea-coast.” Jebb, Soph. O. C. 700.

¹⁵ Bursian, *Geographie von Griechenland*, I, 264. ¹⁶ [Dem.] XLIII. 69.

¹⁷ Plut. *Solon*, 24.

¹⁸ Bötticher, *ibid.* p. 434.

¹⁹ Hertzberg, *Griechenland unter den Römern*, pp. 317 f.

²⁰ Oil to the value of twenty million francs was made in Greece in 1875; Baedeker's *Greece*, p. xlvi.

²¹ Mommsen, *ibid.* p. 56. Bötticher, *ibid.* p. 436.

²² Bötticher, p. 423. Hence perhaps Soph. O. C. 698, φύτευμ' ἀχειρωτος

constant watching to prevent degeneration into the wild olive (*κόρινος*).²³

Just as in well-governed modern countries there are laws to protect forests from ignorant or wanton destruction, so in Athens laws were made to preserve the olive trees which were so essential to the prosperity of the country. Even of his own private olive trees (*ἴδαι ἐλάαι*) a man was not allowed to cut down more than two in a year for his own use, on penalty of a fine of 200 drachmae for each tree.²⁴ But the law was much stricter in regard to the sacred olives (*μόραι ἐλάαι*, more commonly *μοπίαι*²⁵ alone), which were under the protection of Athena and Zeus, and from which were made the crowns and the oil given to the victors at the Panathenaic contests.²⁶ To uproot them was utterly forbidden, and even the ground immediately about them could not be planted with anything else for fear of interference with the growth of the olive.²⁷ The Areopagus had charge of all matters relating to these trees, and its special committee of *ἐπιγνώμονες*²⁸ inspected each tree annually. The produce of the trees was, in the time of Lysias, farmed out to contractors,²⁹

αὐτοκοιδέν, although the second adj. may refer to the miraculous self-renewal of the olive in the Pandroseum after its burning by the Persians, Hdt. viii. 55; so Jebb.

²³ Theophr. *H. P.* ii. 3.

²⁴ Law in [Dem.] xliii. 71. The procedure against such an offender was by *φάσις* or some analogous process; M. and S. p. 299; Boeckh, *Staatshaus-haltung der Athener*, I, p. 421.

²⁵ This word, originally an adj. and occurring as such in §§ 7 and 29, is accented throughout the speech as such by Frohberger and Thalheim. But it seems more likely that it was also used as a real subst., like *ὑπεροπλα*, xxxi. 8. This subst. we should write *μοπίαι* (which indeed is the only accent found in codd. for it), not *μόριαι*. Hence in § 2

μοριῶν, but in § 29 *μοπίων*. The etymology is very obscure. The ancients connected it with the death (*μόρος*) of Halirrhothius, son of Poseidon, who gave himself a mortal wound in trying to uproot Athena's sacred tree (Schol. Ar. *Nub.* 1005). Suidas connects it with *μεροματι*, *share*, and explains that the trees were possessed in common by all Athenians. A modern idea, based on the same derivation, is that the *μοπίαι* were all *parted*, or *propagated*, *μεμορημέναι*, from the original stock in the Acropolis. But the fact is that the origin of the name is lost in antiquity.

²⁶ Mommsen, *ibid.* p. 150 f. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 60. Pind. *Nem.* x. 35.

²⁷ Lys. vii. 25.

²⁸ Lys. *ibid.* Harp. s.v. M. and S. p. 758. ²⁹ Lys. vii. 2.

but later this practice was abandoned and the State collected annually about three-quarters of a pint³⁰ of oil for each tree from the owners of land on which the *μορίαι* stood. The Areopagus, at monthly sessions,³¹ took cognisance of matters relating to these trees. Any person who had destroyed one of them would be brought before this court by the Archon Basileus³² on a charge of sacrilege (*ἀσέβεια*³³). There was no statute of limitations (*προθεσμία*³⁴) to hinder the punishment of such an offender, no matter how long after his crime he was arrested. The case was *ἀτίμητος*, and the fixed punishment was confiscation of property and exile.³⁵

The Spartans seem to have spared the sacred olives during the Peloponnesian war,³⁶ yet in the course of it and during the year of anarchy numerous trees, both private and public, were injured or destroyed.³⁷ After the restoration of the democracy the stumps or trunks (*στελέχη*³⁸) of the sacred trees were enclosed in fences as a protection against wild animals, and to warn everybody that the remains were as sacred as the trees themselves had been. This precaution had a practical as well as a religious side. For the olive was known to be so tenacious of life that even after a stump had been given up for dead, it might send out shoots and

³⁰ τρι' ἡμικοτόλια διπλά τοῦ στελέχους ἐκάστου, Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 60.

³¹ Lys. vii. 25. So Rauchenstein. It is commonly believed, however, that a committee of *ἐπιμεληται* (cf. §§ 7 and 29) visited the trees each month in addition to the annual inspection of the *ἐπιγυνάμορες*.

³² Dem. xxii. 27; xxxv. 48. See note on § 22, and M. and S. p. 61 ff.

³³ M. and S. p. 368 f.

³⁴ § 17, and M. and S. p. 840.

³⁵ §§ 3, 25, 32, 41. M. and S. p. 375.

But Aristotle, *Resp. Ath.* 60, says that formerly, when the state farmed out the produce of the *μορίαι*, the penalty

was death; adding that since the oil has been paid in by the owner of the farm "the procedure has lapsed, though the law remains." Here Aristotle is thinking of the old punishment of death inflicted in all cases of *ἀσέβεια*, and he omits to note the modification in the penalty which is clear from Lysias.

³⁶ Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 698–701.

³⁷ Lys. vii. 7, cf. 6 and 24; xiv. 33; Isocr. xvi. 13.

³⁸ *στελέχος* is kindred to *στελεά*, *shaft*, *στήλη* (Curt. *Griech. Etym.* p. 212). It may denote also the entire tree; cf. Hdt. viii. 55, [Dem.] xliv. 69, Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 60.

thrive once more.³⁹ The term *σηκός*,⁴⁰ properly signifying only the fence, in use included all that the fence enclosed, and hence in this speech it is applied to the stump of a *μορία*. Such a stump the speaker had been accused of removing contrary to the law.

This defendant was a rich owner of real estate,⁴¹ who had held aloof from politics on principle,⁴² but who had performed all his required public duties.⁴³ But in spite of this, he found himself accused by one Nicomachus, a young⁴⁴ man otherwise unknown to us, who seems to have been engaged by the speaker's enemies to worry him after the manner of a sycophant.⁴⁵ The original written charge was that the speaker had destroyed a *μορία* on one of his own farms. But when the trial began Nicomachus altered his accusation. He had found it impossible to prove by witnesses that there had been a *μορία* on this farm. He shifted his ground, therefore, and his charge, now verbal, not written, is that a *σηκός*, not a *μορία*, had been removed.⁴⁶ But he brings no witnesses to prove it, nor does he accept the defendant's offer of his slaves to be tortured.⁴⁷ On the other hand, the accused shows by witnesses that there had been neither *μορία* nor *σηκός* nor even a private olive tree on that piece of land since it came into his possession.⁴⁸ Here we might expect the defendant to rest his case, for it seems as if he had certainly said enough to make sure of an acquittal. That he goes on, however, shows that the judges in an Athenian court laid less stress upon the testimony of eyewitnesses⁴⁹ than we do, and preferred to hear argu-

³⁹ Hdt. viii. 55; Theophr. *II. P. v.*

⁴¹ § 24. ⁴² § 1.

9. 8; Verg. *G. ii.* 31, 181; Plin. *N. H.*

⁴³ §§ 31, 41.

xvi. 230, xvii. 241.

⁴⁴ § 29. ⁴⁵ § 38.

⁴⁰ *σηκός* is kindred to *saepire* (Curtius, *Griech. Etym.*, p. 161). But as 'enclosure' = all the ground enclosed and the plants and trees as well, the word stands also for the stump of the *μορία* (*τῆς μορίας στέλεχος σηκός καλεῖται*, Suid.); and conversely *μορία* may denote *σηκός*, cf. § 22, and Harp., *σηκόν* ὡς ξουκεν καὶ *μορίαν* δυομάζουσι *τὴν αὐτήν*.

⁴⁶ § 2. For a similar manoeuvre, cf.

Isocr. xviii. 7 and 53. Perhaps, however, the speaker exaggerates his difficulty. At least he had time to get Lysias to insert this section into his speech.

⁴⁷ § 20 ff. See on § 34 ff.

⁴⁸ §§ 5-10.

⁴⁹ Blass, *Attische Beredsamkeit*, I, p. 592.

ments. For in fact the accused begins again with what is in effect a new introduction,⁵⁰ and the last three-quarters of his speech is composed of 'arguments from probability.' He was no poor man to whom the slight gain from the sale of the wood might have been an object or who needed the ground upon which the *στύκος* was supposed to stand⁵¹; he had everything to lose by such a crime and nothing to gain⁵²; his slaves, naturally against him,⁵³ and his neighbours, some of whom were unfriendly,⁵⁴ would have been likely to inform against him; he owned fields on which stood many *μορίαι* which he might have cut down with less chance of detection than was possible in the case of this which the accuser calls the only one on the estate in question⁵⁵; the accuser had brought no witnesses,⁵⁶ had neglected to arrest the accused in the very act,⁵⁷ and had even refused the offer of his slaves for torture⁵⁸; the defendant is a good citizen,⁵⁹ the accuser is a miserable sycophant, the mere tool of the speaker's enemies.⁶⁰ So after a brief appeal to the pity of the court for his lonely state, the defendant sums up briefly,⁶¹ and sits down.

The date of the speech cannot be fixed with exactness. The mention of the archon in § 11 shows that it must have been delivered later than B.C. 397-6. The words *τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ νοτερον* in § 42 show that the suit was not brought for some time after the supposed crime had been committed. Probably the case was tried at the earliest in the year 395.⁶²

⁵⁰ § 12.

⁵¹ § 14.

⁵³ § 34.

⁵⁹ § 30 ff.

⁵² § 15.

⁵⁴ § 16 f.

⁶⁰ § 38 ff.

⁶¹ §§ 41-43.

⁵⁴ § 18 ff.

⁵⁵ §§ 24, 28.

⁶² So

Blass, *ibid.* p. 591, after

⁵⁶ § 20 f.

⁵⁷ § 22.

Sauppe, *Philol.* XXV, p. 258.

ΑΡΕΟΠΑΓΙΤΙΚΟΣ

ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΣΗΚΟΥ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

Πρότερον μέν, ὁ βουλή, ἐνόμιζον ἔξειναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἡσυχίαν ἄγοντι, μήτε δίκας ἔχειν μήτε πράγματα· νυνὶ δὲ οὕτως ἀπροσδοκήτοις αἰτίαις καὶ πονηροῖς συκοφάνταις περιπέπτωκα, ὡστ' εἴ πως οἶόν τε, δοκεῖ μοι δεῖν καὶ τοὺς διμή γεγονότας ἥδη δεδιέναι περὶ τῶν μελλόντων ἔσεσθαι· διὰ γὰρ τοὺς τοιούτους οἱ κίνδυνοι κοινοὶ γίγνονται καὶ 2 τοῖς μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσι καὶ τοῖς πολλὰ ἡμαρτηκόσιν. οὕτω δ' ἄπορος ὁ ἄγων μοι καθέστηκεν, ὡστε ἀπεγράφην τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἐλάαν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀφανίζειν, καὶ πρὸς τοὺς 10 ἐωνημένους τοὺς καρποὺς τῶν μοριῶν πυνθανόμενοι προσῆσαν· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐκ τούτου τοῦ τρόπου ἀδικοῦντά με οὐδὲν εὐρεῖν ἐδυνήθησαν, νυνὶ με σηκόν φασιν ἀφανίζειν, ἥγονύμενοι ἐμοὶ μὲν ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν ἀπορωτάτην εἶναι ψευδῆ ἀποδεῖξαι, αὐτοῖς δὲ ἔξειναι μᾶλλον ὅ τι ἀν βούλων-

1. **βουλή**: the council of the Areopagus was addressed by the same term as the Senate; cf. xvi. 1.—**δίκας**: as a general term, 'lawsuits.'—**πράγματα**: 'bothers,' not wholly in a legal sense as in xii. 3.—**περιπέπτωκα**: rarely (and never elsewhere in Lysias) used with persons in this sense; cf. Dem. LIV. 25, *οὐδεμί' ἔστιν ἐπὶ τοις σωτηρίας τῷ περιπέπτοντι τοῖς ἀσελγαίνοντιν.* — **τοὺς μὴ γεγονότας κτλ.**: 'generations yet unborn'; the paradoxical turn lends a

new zest to the well-worn charge of sycophancy; see on xvi. 1.—**ἀδικοῦσι**: perfect in sense. GMT. 27; H. 827.

2. **ἄπορος**: *difficult, perplexing*, rendered so by the change in the nature of the charge; see p. 5.—**ὁ ἄγων**: *the case*.—**ἀπεγράφην**: the proceedings against him began with an *ἀπογραφή*.—**ἐλάαν**: = *μορία* here, but not so in § 10.—**τοὺς ἐωνημένους**: 'the contractors'; see p. 3.

3 ταὶ λέγειν. καὶ δεῖ με, περὶ ὧν οὗτος ἐπιβεβουλευκῶς
ῆκει, ἃμ’ ὑμῖν τοῖς διαγνωσομένοις περὶ τοῦ πράγματος
ἀκούσαντα, καὶ περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ περὶ τῆς οὐσίας
ἀγωνίσασθαι. ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ἐξ ἀρχῆς ὑμᾶς διδάξαι.

4 Ἡν μὲν γὰρ τοῦτο Πεισάνδρου τὸ χωρίον, δημευθέν-
20 των δ’ ἐκείνου τῶν ὄντων Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Μεγαρεὺς
δωρειὰν παρὰ τοῦ δήμου λαβὼν τὸν μὲν ἄλλον χρόνον
ἔγεωργει, ὀλίγῳ δὲ πρὸ τῶν τριάκοντα Ἀντικλῆς παρ’
αὐτοῦ πριάμενος ἐξεμίσθωσεν. ἐγὼ δὲ παρ’ Ἀντικλέους
δείρηντης οὐσῆς ὠνοῦμαι. ἥγονται τοίνυν, ὡς βουλή, ἐμὸν
25 ἔργον ἀποδεῖξαι ὡς, ἐπειδὴ τὸ χωρίον ἐκτησάμην, οὐτ’
ἔλαα οὔτε σηκὸς ἐνῆν ἐν αὐτῷ. νομίζω γὰρ τοῦ μὲν
προτέρου χρόνου, οὐδ’ εἰ πάλαι ἐνήσαν μυρίαι, οὐκ ἀν
δικαίως ζημιοῦσθαι· εἰ γὰρ μὴ δι’ ἡμᾶς εἰσιν ἡφανισμέ-
ναι, οὐδὲν προσήκει περὶ τῶν ἀλλοτρίων ἀμαρτημάτων
8 ὡς ἀδικοῦντας κινδυνεύειν. πάντες γὰρ ἐπίστασθε ὅτι

3. ἐπιβεβουλευκός: *cf. xix. 3, οἱ μὲν γὰρ (sc. plaintiffs) ἐκ πολλοῦ χρόνου ἐπιβουλεύοντες.* — ἃμ’ ὑμῖν: on the probable exaggeration, see p. 5, note 46. On ἄμα, see App. — ἀκούσαντα: concessive. — περὶ τῆς πατρίδος κτλ.: the penalty was exile and confiscation of property.

4. Πεισάνδρου: one of the leaders of the Four Hundred; see on xii. 65. After their fall his property was confiscated, and this estate formed part of the reward of Apollodorus, one of the murderers (xiii. 70 f.) of Phrynicus. He did not receive it until some time after the murder, as the investigation (see App.) lasted long (*cf. τλεῖν ἡ τρία ξτη, § 6*). — δωρεάν: the regular word used of a gift of honour

from the State. — εἰρήνης οὐσης: *i.e. after the surrender of Athens to Lysander; for, according to § 9, the speaker held the estate only five days before letting it in the archonship of Pythodorus, B.C. 404-3.* — ὠνοῦμαι: hist. present. The aor. of this verb is not in classic use; *ἐπράμην* is generally used for it.

5. μέν: the adversative clause is unexpressed, but is latent in the context; see on § 39 and xii. 8. — τοῦ... χρόνου: *i.e. for an ἀφάνισις in the past. The gen. is causal (G. 1126; H. 744), although not found elsewhere with ζημιοῦσθαι, but with κολάζειν, Ar. Vesp. 244, τιμωρεῖν, Xen. Cyr. iv. 6. 8.* — δι’ ἡμᾶς: *cf. § 21 and see on xii. 58.*

δό πόλεμος καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν αἰτιος κακῶν γεγένηται, καὶ τὰ μὲν πόρρω ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐτέμνετο, τὰ δ' ἔγγὺς ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων διηρπάζετο· ὥστε πῶς ἀν δικαίως ὑπὲρ τῶν τότε τῆς πόλει γεγενημένων συμφορῶν ἐγὼ νῦν δίκην θεδιδοίην; ἄλλως τε καὶ ὅτι τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ 7 δημευθὲν ἀπρατον ἦν πλεῦν ἡ τρία ἔτη. οὐ θαυμαστὸν δ' εἰ τότε τὰς μορίας ἔξεκοπτον, ἐν φι οὐδὲ τὰ ἡμέτερ' αὐτῶν φυλάσσειν ἡδυνάμεθα. ἐπίστασθε δέ, ὡς βουλή, ὅσῳ μάλιστα τῶν τοιούτων ἐπιμελεῖσθε, πολλὰ ἐν ἐκείνῳ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ δασέα ὄντα ἰδίαις καὶ μορίαις ἐλάσαις, ὥν νῦν τὰ πολλὰ ἔκκεκοπται καὶ ἡ γῆ ψιλὴ γεγένηται· καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ κεκτημένων οὐκ ἀξιοῦτε παρ' αὐτῶν, ἐτέρων ἐκκοψάντων, δίκην λαμβάνειν. 8 καίτοι εἰ τοὺς διὰ παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου γεωργοῦντας τῆς κατίας ἀφίετε, ἡ που χρὴ τούς γ' ἐν τῇ εἰρήνῃ πριαμένους ἀφ' ὑμῶν ἀξημίους γενέσθαι.

6. δό πόλεμος: i.e. the Peloponnesian.
— πόρρω: *remote*, from the city.—

Δακεδαιμονίων: i.e. their garrison in Decelea (but see p. 4). — τῶν φίλων: 'our own people.' Not a reference to the party of Thrasybulus, for the time (*τοῦ προτέρου χρόνου*, § 5) is too far back, but either to the systematic desertion and laying waste of their own estates by the Athenians at the beginning of the war to prevent the Spartans from living on them (cf. Thuc. ii. 14, and see p. 4, note 37), or to the depredations of private and public foraging parties from Athens. — ἄν: on its position, see on XII. 37. — ἄλλως τε καὶ: *particularly*; see App. — ἀπρατον: no purchaser could be found in the critical times when the Spartans were in Decelea. — πλεῖν

κτλ.: *over three years*. On the form, see App.

7. θαυμαστὸν εἰ: see on XII. 36. — δοσῷ μάλιστα: 'particularly as,' dat. of degree of difference, here with a sup. (G. 1185; H. 781 b); cf. § 39 (but with comp. § 24), and Soph. *Trach.* 313, *ἔτει νῦν τῶνδε πλείστον φίτισα βλέπουσ*, δοσῷ περ καὶ φρονεῖν οἴδεν μόνη. — δύτα: impf. in time; see on XVI. 5. — κεκτημένων: concessive.

8. ἡ που: see on XII. 35. — ἀφ' ὑμῶν: 'on your part,' 'so far as you are concerned,' belonging to ἀξημίους γενέσθαι. Cf. Thuc. i. 39. 3, *τῆς ἀφ' ἡμῶν αττας*, Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 36, *αὐτονόμους δὲ ἀπὸ τῶν Θηβαίων τὰς Βοιωτίδας πόλεις ἐποίησαν*. With πριαμένους, we should have παρ' ὑμῶν, as in § 4.

9 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὃ βουλή, περὶ μὲν τῶν πρότερον γεγενημένων πολλὰ ἔχων εἰπεῖν ἵκανὰ νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα· ἐπειδὴ δ' ἐγὼ παρέλαβον τὸ χωρίον, πρὶν ἡμέρας πέντε διγενέσθαι ἀπεμίσθωσα Καλλιστράτῳ, ἐπὶ Πυθοδώρου ἄρχοντος· ὃς δύο ἔτη ἐγεώργησεν, οὗτε ἴδιαν ἐλάαν οὗτε μορίαν οὗτε σηκὸν παραλαβών. τρίτῳ δὲ ἔτει Δημήτριος οὗτοσὶ εἰργάσατο· τῷ δὲ τετάρτῳ Ἀλκίᾳ Ἀντισθένους ἀπελευθέρω ἐμίσθωσα, ὃς τέθηνκε· κἀτα τρία ἔτη ὄμοιώς εἶναι Πρωτέας ἐμίσθωσατο. καὶ μοι δεῦρ' ἵτε μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

11 Ἐπειδὴ τούννυν ὁ χρόνος οὗτος ἔξήκει, αὐτὸς γεωργῶ. φησὶ δὲ ὁ κατήγορος ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου ἄρχοντος σηκὸν ὑπὲμοῦ ἐκκεκόφθαι. ὑμῖν δέ μεμαρτυρήκασιν οἱ πρότερον ἐργαζόμενοι καὶ πολλὰ ἔτη παρ' ἐμοῦ μεμισθωμένοι μὴ ωεῖναι σηκὸν ἐν τῷ χωρίῳ. καίτοι πῶς ἂν τις φαινερότερον ἔξελέγξειε ψευδόμενον τὸν κατήγορον; οὐ γὰρ οἶόν τε, ἢ πρότερον μὴ ἦν, ταῦτα τὸν ὑστερὸν ἐργαζόμενον ἀφανίζειν.

9. ἀλλὰ γάρ: see on xii. 99. — γενέσθαι: *had passed*; cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 25, *πρὶν ἡμέρας δέκα γενέσθαι*. — Πυθοδόρου: archon in the 'year of anarchy,' B.C. 404-3.

10. οὗτοσι: shows that Demetrius was present. — ὃς τέθηνκε: added to show why he does not appear; cf. xxxii. 26. — δμοιως: *i.e.* without ἄλια, μορία, or σηκός. — ἐμισθώσατο: cf. the meaning of the active above. G. 1245; H. 815.

11. ὁ χρόνος: the lease of Proteas. The estate therefore had been let by the speaker from B.C. 404-3 (§ 4)

through 398-7, a period of seven years. — ἐπὶ Σουνιάδου: archon in 397-6, the first year after the period of seven. — μὴ εἴναι: with μαρτυρέω the inf. regularly takes μὴ. G. 1496; GMT. 685. — ψευδόμενον: *indir.* discourse. G. 1588; H. 981. — ἢ μὴ ἦν: an indef. rel. clause. G. 1426, 1428; H. 912, 913. Cf. μηδεὶς, § 38.

12. The evidence being all in, the speaker now makes use of 'arguments from probability' (see Introd. § 11). The thread is: 'People call me a keen hand. Now what had I to gain by destroying the tree, and what harm

12 Ἐγὼ τούνν, ὡς βουλή, ἐν μὲν τῷ τέως χρόνῳ, ὅσοι με
φάσκοιεν δεινὸν εἶναι καὶ ἀκριβῆ καὶ οὐδὲν ἀν εἰκῆ καὶ
ἀλογίστως ποιῆσαι, ἡγανάκτουν ἄν, αἰρούμενος μᾶλλον
λέγεσθαι ὡς μοι προσήκει· νῦν δὲ πάντας ἀν υμᾶς βο-
λούμην περὶ ἐμοῦ ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχειν, ἵνα ἡγῆσθέ
με σκοπεῖν, εἴπερ τοιούτοις ἔργοις ἐπεχείρουν, καὶ ὃ τι
τοκέρδος ἐγίγνετο μοι ἀφανίσαντι καὶ ἡτις ζημία περιποιή-
σαντι, καὶ τί ἀν λαθὼν διεπραξάμην καὶ τί ἀν φανερὸς
13 γενόμενος ὑφ' υμῶν ἔπασχον. πάντες γὰρ ἄνθρωποι τὰ
τοιαῦτα οὐχ ὕβρεως ἀλλὰ κέρδους ἔνεκα ποιοῦσι· καὶ
υμᾶς εἰκὸς οὕτω σκοπεῖν, καὶ τὸν ἀντιδίκους ἐκ τούτων
τιτὰς κατηγορίας ποιεῖσθαι, ἀποφαίνοντας ἡτις ὠφέλεια
14 τοὺς ἀδικήσασιν ἐγίγνετο. οὗτος μέντοι οὐκ ἀν ἔχοι ἀπο-

did its presence cause me?' — **ὅσοι φάσκοιεν**: rel. general condition. G. 1431, 2; H. 914 B. — **δεινόν**: in a bad sense, *sharp, shrewd*; so *ἀκριβῆ*. — **εἰκῆ**: see App. to XII. 15. — **ἄν ποιῆσαι**: representing a potential opt. — **ἡγανάκτουν ἀν**: the iterative use. G. 1296; GMT. 162; H. 835. — **αἰρόμενος κτλ.**: the thought is, 'in the past I preferred people to speak of me in appropriate terms; but now I should rather have you all think of me as a keen fellow, — one who would never be guilty of such a foolish act.' — **ἄν υμᾶς βούλοιμην**: *I should like to have you*, Lat. *velim*. G. 1327; H. 903. Cf. XII. 22. — **ἡγῆσθε**: after a potential opt., a final clause as a rule takes the subjv. in prose. G. 1270, 2; GMT. 180. — **σκοπεῖν**: represents the impf. indicative. — **ἔγιγνετο**: the rare change in indir. disc. to the impf. after a secondary tense (*σκοπεῖν*). Cf. XII. 73. G. 1489; GMT. 674, 2; H. 936.

The direct question would be *τι κέρδος γίγνεται*, where the pres. tense has the force of *μελλει* *γενήσεται*, as in Isaues IX. 24. See on § 13 f., where the impfs. themselves have this force. — **ζημία**: material loss is meant, as in XXXII. 21; cf. Plat. *Hipparch.* 226 E, *κέρδος δὲ λέγεις ἐναντίον τῇ ζημίᾳ*; — **περιποιήσαντι**: i.e. *σώσαντι*, cf. XIII. 63, ἡ δὲ τύχη καὶ δ δαίμων (αὐτοὺς) *περιποιήσει*.

13. **πάντες ἄνθρωποι**: without the art.; see on XVI. 15. — **ὕβρεως**: 'lawlessness.' — **κέρδους ἔνεκα**: cf. Isocr. XXI. 6, δῆλον γὰρ, δι τι πάντες κέρδους ἔνεκ' ἀδικοῦσιν. — **οὕτω σκοπεῖν**: 'look at it in this light.' See on XVI. 18. — **ἐκ τούτων**: repeats the idea in *οὕτω*, and is explained by *ἀποδαίνωντας*, denoting means. One of the best 'arguments from probability' lay in showing that the accused had something to gain by his alleged crime. — **ἔγιγνετο**: this impf., unlike *ἔγιγνετο* in § 12, is the

δεῖξαι οὐθ' ὡς ὑπὸ πενίας ἡμαγκάσθην τοιούτοις ἔργοις
ἐπιχειρεῖν, οὐθ' ὡς τὸ χωρίον μοι διαφθείρεται τοῦ σηκοῦ
ἐνόντος, οὐθ' ὡς ἀμπέλοις ἐμποδὼν ἦν, οὐθ' ὡς οἰκίας
80 ἐγγύς, οὐθ' ὡς ἐγὼ ἀπειρος τῶν παρ' ὑμῖν κινδύνων. ἐγὼ
δέ, εἰ τι τοιούτον ἔπραττον, πολλὰς ἀν καὶ μεγάλας
15 ἐμαυτῷ ζημίας γιγνομένας ἀποφήναιμι. ὃς πρῶτον μὲν
μεθ' ἡμέραν ἔξεκοπτον τὸν σηκόν, ὥσπερ οὐ πάντας
λαθεῖν δέον, ἀλλὰ πάντας Ἀθηναίους εἰδέναι. καὶ εἰ μὲν
85 αἰσχρὸν ἦν μόνον τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵσως ἀν τις τῶν παριόντων
ἡμέληησε· νῦν δ' οὐ περὶ αἰσχύνης ἀλλὰ τῆς μεγίστης
18 ζημίας ἐκινδύνευον. πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀν ἦ ἀθλιώτατος ἀνθρώ-
πων ἀπάντων, εἰ τοὺς ἐμαυτοῦ θεράποντας μηκέτι δούλους
ἐμελλον ἔξειν ἀλλὰ δεσπότας τὸν λοιπὸν βίον, τοιούτον
90 ἔργον συνειδότας; ὥστε εἰ καὶ τὰ μέγιστα εἰς ἐξη-
μάρτανον, οὐκ ἀν οἶόν τε ἦν δίκην με παρ' αὐτῶν λαμβά-
νειν· εὐ γάρ ἀν γῆδη ὅτι ἐπ' ἐκείνοις ἦν καὶ ἐμὲ τιμω-
ρήσασθαι καὶ αὐτοῖς μηνύσασιν ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι.

direct thought unchanged. It has the meaning of *ἔμελλε γενήσεθαι*, like the impf. partic. *γιγνομένας* in § 14; cf. Andoc. I. 58, *φονεὺς οὖν αὐτῶν ἐγγυθῆμην ἐγώ, μὴ εἰπών ὑμῖν ἀ ηκούσα*, and see Schoemann on Isaeus I. 44. Like these is the use of *ἔκερδανον*, § 32, denoting *likelihood*; see GMT. 38, and cf. XII. 27, 88.

14. ὑπὸ πενίας: as, for instance, that he wanted to make money by selling the wood or using the ground occupied by the *σηκός*. — παρ' ὑμῖν: the dat. on the principle of *παρὰ τῷ πολεμάρχῳ*, XXIII. 3; cf. XXI. 17, *εἰ παρ' ἀλλοις ἐκινδύνευον*. See App. — γιγνομένας: indir. disc. (G. 1588; H. 981), representing an impf. used like *ἔγιγνετο*, § 13. It

is the apod. of *εἰ ἔπραττον*, a prot. of the simple first form: 'If I did any such thing, many severe penalties were bound to come upon me, as I could show.' See App.

15. μεθ' ἡμέραν: 'in broad day.' — ὥσπερ οὐ δέον: 'just as if it were not important,' though the partic. is not conditional as the neg. οὐ shows; see App. to XII. 7, and for the acc. absol., G. 1569; H. 973. — αἰσχρόν: hence not entailing a legal penalty. — τῶν παριόντων: depends on *ἡμέληησε*. Cf. § 17, *τῶν οἰκετῶν μηδὲν φροντίζειν*.

16. δεσπότας: on the thought, cf. Pub. Syrus, 194, *famulatur dominus ubi timet quibus imperet*. — ἐλευθέροις γενέσθαι: see on § 35;

17 ἔτι τοίνυν εἰ τῶν οἰκετῶν παρέστη μοι μηδὲν φροντίζειν,
95 πῶς ἀν ἐτόλμησα τοσούτων μεμισθωμένων καὶ ἀπάντων
συνειδότων ἀφανίσαι τὸν σηκὸν βραχέος μὲν κέρδους ἔνεκα,
προθεσμίας δὲ οὐδεμιᾶς οὐσης τῷ κινδύνῳ τοῖς εἰργασμέ-
νοις ἄπασι τὸ χωρίον ὁμοίως προσῆκον εἶναι σῶν τὸν
σηκόν, ἵν' εἴ τις αὐτοὺς γῆτιάτο, εἶχον ἀνενεγκεῖν ὅτῳ παρέ-
100 δοσαν; μὴν δὲ καὶ ἐμὲ ἀπολύσαντες φαίνονται καὶ σφᾶς
αὐτούς, εἴπερ ψεύδονται, μετόχους τῆς αἰτίας καθιστάντες.
18 εἰ τοίνυν καὶ ταῦτα παρεσκευασάμην, πῶς ἀν οὗτος τ' ἡ
πάντας πεῖσαι τοὺς παριόντας, ἢ τοὺς γείτονας, οἱ οὐ
μόνον ἀλλήλων ταῦτ' ἵσασιν ἀ πάσιν ὄραν ἔξεστιν, ἀλλὰ
105 καὶ περὶ ὧν ἀποκρυπτόμεθα μηδένα εἰδέναι, καὶ περὶ ἐκεί-

freedom, then, was the reward of a slave who laid a *μήνυσις* against his master. Death, however, was the penalty for false information. On the whole subject, see M. and S. pp. 330 f., 751.

17. *οἰκετῶν*: in this speech *οἰκέτης*, *θεράπων* and *δοῦλος* are used as synonyms, although each really has a special meaning of its own; see Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 83. The gen. depends on *φροντίζειν*, cf. *xxxii. 31*. — *παρέστη*: 'occurred'; see on *xii. 62*. — *προθεσμίας οὐδεμιᾶς*: see p. 4. — *οὖσης*: causal and subord. to *προσῆκον*. — *τοῖς εἰργασμένοις κτλ.*: the 'argument from improbability' falls into two parts, 1) the insignificance of the gain; 2) the fact that each lessee would be concerned (*προσῆκον*) in seeing that the estate lost no *σηκός* at any time, as there was no statute of limitations in such cases. — *προσῆκον*: on the case, cf. δέον, § 15. — *σῶν*: on the form, see G. 309; H. 227. — *εἶχον*: on the mood, see G. 1371; H. 884. — *ἀνενεγκεῖν δτῳ*: for the phrase, see on *xii. 81*.

18. *παρεσκευασάμην*: 'fixed,' 'put up,' the means being well understood; so *τοὺς συκοφάντας παρασκευάσθαι*, to 'fix' the *sycophants*. Bribing is not always meant by the word, however; cf. *xiii. 12*, *δικαστήριον παρασκευάσαντες*, *having 'packed' a court*, i.e. with their (the oligarchs') creatures; *xiii. 26*, *εἰ μή τις οὐ ηὐ παρεσκευασμένον*, 'if it hadn't been a put-up job of yours'; also *xxiv. 1*, and *παρασκευήν*, *xii. 75*. — *πεῖσαν*: often used of bribing, cf. § 21. — *γείτονας*: the omniscient neighbour was as much of a pest then as he often is now. Cf. such proverbs as *οὐδὲν γείτονας χαλεπώτερον*, Arist. *Rhet.* ii. 21; *δέσποτος οἱ γείτονες βλέποντες τῶν ἀλωπέκων*, Macarius, vi. 40; *δυσμενῆς καὶ βάσκανος (envious) δ τῶν γείτονων δφθαλμός, φησιν η παροιμία*, Alciphron, i. 15. — *περὶ ὧν* and *περὶ*

νων πυνθάνονται; ἐμοὶ τοίνυν τούτων οἱ μὲν φίλοι, οἱ δὲ 19 διάφοροι περὶ τῶν ἐμῶν τυγχάνουσιν ὄντες. οὓς ἔχρην τοῦτον παρασχέσθαι μάρτυρας, καὶ μὴ μόνον οὗτος τολμηρὰς κατηγορίας ποιεύσθαι· ὃς φησιν ὡς ἐγὼ μὲν παρει- 110 στήκη, οἱ δ' οὐκέται ἐξέτεμνον τὰ πρέμνα, ἀναθέμενος δὲ 20 ὁ βοηλάτης ὥχετο ἀπάγων τὰ ξύλα. καίτοι, ὡς Νικόμαχε, χρῆν σε τότε καὶ παρακαλεῖν τοὺς παριόντας μάρτυρας, 115 καὶ φανερὸν ποιεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα· καὶ ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀνάπολογίαν ὑπέλιπες, αὐτὸς δέ, εἰ μέν σοι ἔχθρὸς ἦ, ἐν 120 τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ ἥσθα ἀν με τετιμωρημένος, εἰ δὲ τῆς πόλεως ἔνεκα ἐπραττες, οὗτος ἐξελέγξας οὐκ ἀν ἐδόκεις εἶναι συκοφάντης, εἰ δὲ κερδαίνειν ἐβούλου, τότ' ἀν πλεῖ- 125 21 στον ἔλαβες· φανεροῦ γάρ ὄντος τοῦ πράγματος οὐδεμίαν

ἴκεινων: rare, instead of the usual περὶ ἡν alone or περὶ ἔκεινων &c. The καὶ περὶ ἔκεινων, even on those very points, repeats and makes more emphatic the foregoing rel. clause.—ἀποκρυπτόμεθα: denotes attempted action, G. 1255; H. 825. —μηδένα εἰδέναι: 'we conceal from anybody's knowledge,' a construction on the analogy of verbs of hindrance. G. 1549; H. 963. —τοίνυν: see on xvi. 12. —περὶ τῶν ἡμῶν: 'about what is mine'; boundary disputes, and questions of trespass and damage resulting from it, like the case in Dem. LV, are meant.

19. ἔχρην: see on XII. 32. —ὅς φησιν ὡς: an almost unparalleled construction. GMT. 753, 2. See App. —ἀναθέμενος: after loading up, sc. εἰς τὴν ἀμάξαν or a similar phrase. The verb is extremely rare in this literal sense; cf. Plut. Artox. 11, τὸν

Κύρον ἐπεχείρουν ἐπ' ἄλλον ἵππον ἀναθέσθαι, Ar. Eq. 105b, καὶ κε γυνὴ φέροι ἄχθος, ἐπει κεν ἀνήρ ἀναθεῖη (a quotation from the Little Iliad). —βοηλάτης: the Greeks used oxen as well as horses and mules for draught purposes; cf. Xen. Oec. 18. 4, καὶ ὑποζύγια γε καλούμενα πάντα ὁμοίως, βοῦς, ἡμίβους, ἵππους. —ώχετο ἀπάγων: the partic. expresses the leading idea here. G. 1587.

20. τότε: 'then and there.' He might then have taken the speaker in the very act with witnesses; cf. ἐπ.' αὐτοφώρῳ εἰλέγκα, § 42. —ἐν τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ: = eo pacto, denoting manner, cf. Antiphon 1. 8, τὰ γάρ γενόμενα ἐν τούτῳ ἀφανισθῆται ψήθησαν. See on XXIV. 5. —ἥσθα ἀν τετιμωρημένος: the rare plupf. in the contrary-to-fact apod., expressing completion in pres. time. G. 1397; H. 895. On the periphrastic form, see GMT. 45.

ἄλλην ἡγούμην ἀν εἶναι μοι σωτηρίαν ή σὲ πεῖσαι. τού·
 120 των τούννυν οὐδὲν ποιήσας διὰ τοὺς σοὺς λόγους ἀξιοῖς με
 ἀπολέσθαι, καὶ κατηγορεῖς ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς ἐμῆς δυνάμεως
 καὶ τῶν ἐμῶν χρημάτων οὐδεὶς ἐθέλει σοι μαρτυρεῖν.
 22 καίτοι εἰ ὡς φῆς μ' ἵδων τὴν μορίαν ἀφανίζοντα τοὺς
 ἐννέα ἄρχοντας ἐπήγαγες ή ἄλλους τινὰς τῶν ἐξ Ἀρείου
 125 πάγου, οὐκ ἀν ἑτέρων ἔδει σοι μαρτύρων· οὗτοι γὰρ ἀν
 σοι συνήδεσαν ἀληθῆ λέγοντι, οἵπερ καὶ διαγιγνώσκειν
 23 ἐμέλλον περὶ τοῦ πράγματος. δεινότατα οὖν πάσχω ὅτ·
 εἰ μὲν παρέσχετο μάρτυρας, τούτοις ἀν ἡξίου πιστεύειν,
 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐκ εἰσὶν αὐτῷ, ἐμοὶ καὶ ταύτην ζημίαν οἴεται
 130 χρῆναι γενέσθαι. καὶ τούτου μὲν οὐθαυμάζω· οὐ γὰρ
 δῆ που συκοφαντῶν ἄμα τοιούτων τε λόγων ἀπορήσει καὶ
 μαρτύρων· ὑμᾶς δ' οὐκ ἀξιῶ τὴν αὐτὴν τούτῳ γνώμην

21. *πεῖσαι*: see on § 18.—*ὑπό*: causal, G. 1219, 1 c; cf. xxxi. 18, xxxii. 10, 18; Ar. *Vesp.* 1084, *ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν τοκευμάτων οὐκ ήν ἰδεῖν τὸν οὐρανόν*. For *ὑπό* with impers. words, see on xii. 3.—*δυνάμεως*: *influence*; see on § 27.

22. *ὡς φῆς*: cf. the scene described by the accuser in § 19.—*τοὺς ἐννέα ἄρχοντας*: a loose phrase, for certainly not more than one would be needed. This would be the *βασιλεὺς* (with his *ἴπηρται*), M. and S. p. 293. See p. 4.—*μορίαν*: here = *σηκόν*, cf. p. 5, note 40.—*ἐπήγαγες*: Lysias has in mind the procedure called *ἐφῆγησις*, wherein a magistrate was brought to the very spot to arrest a person who was committing a crime; still, M. and S., *i.e.*, doubt whether the *ἐφῆγησις* was ever actually employed in olive-tree cases.—*ἄλλους τις*: or else *some of the members of the Areopagus*. Archons

did not become members of this council until after their year of office as archons. On this use of *ἄλλος*, see on § 25.—*ἀν ἔδει*: on the use of *ἀν*, see on xii. 48.—*οἵπερ*: 'the very men who,' cf. *ἀπερ*, xxxii. 15.

23. *καὶ ταύτην*: *this also*, *i.e.* his not having witnesses. The gender is by assimilation (H. 632 a) with *ζημίαν*, which means 'to my detriment.'—*τούτου*: causal gen. (G. 1126; H. 744); masculine as the following clause shows as well as the *μέν* when compared with *ὑμᾶς δέ*.—*οὐδὲ γὰρ δῆ που*: see on xii. 27.—*συκοφαντῶν*: 'playing the sycophant.'—*τοιούτων λόγων κτλ.*: the thought is 'a sycophant may lack witnesses, but he will never lack arguments.' The very lack of witnesses Nicomachus seizes upon as a proof that the speaker had bought them off.

24 ἔχειν. ἐπίστασθε γὰρ ἐν τῷ πεδίῳ πολλὰς μορίας οὖσας
καὶ πυρκαϊάς ἐν τοῖς ἄλλοις τοῖς ἐμοῖς χωρίοις, ἃς, εἴπερ
135 ἐπεθύμουν, πολὺ ἡν ἀσφαλέστερον καὶ ἀφανίσαι καὶ
ἐκκόψαι καὶ ἐπεργάσασθαι, ὅσῳπερ ἦττον τὸ ἀδύκημα
25 πολλῶν οὐσῶν ἔμελλε δῆλον ἔσεσθαι. νῦν δ' οὐτως αὐτὰς
περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι ὥσπερ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα καὶ τὴν
ἄλλην οὐσίαν, ἡγούμενος περὶ ἀμφοτέρων τούτων εἶναι
140 μοι τὸν κίνδυνον. αὐτὸς τούτων ὑμᾶς τούτων μάρτυρας
παρέχομαι, ἐπιμελουμένους μὲν ἐκάστου μηνός, ἐπιγνώ-
μονας δὲ πέμποντας καθ' ἐκαστον ἐνιαυτόν· ὃν οὐδεὶς
πώποτ' ἐζημίωσέ μ' ὡς ἐργαζόμενον τὰ περὶ τὰς μορίας
26 χωρία. καίτοι οὐ δή που τὰς μὲν μικρὰς ζημίας οὐτω
145 περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τοῦ σώματος κινδύ-
νους οὐτω περὶ οὐδενὸς ἡγούμαι· καὶ τὰς μὲν πολλὰς
ἔλασας, εἰς ἃς ἐξῆν μᾶλλον ἐξαμαρτάνειν, οὐτω θεραπεύων
φαίνομαι, τὴν δὲ μίαν μορίαν, ἡν οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἡν λαθεῖν

24. *πεδίον*: the Athenian plain, see p. 2. — *πυρκαϊάς*: *stumps of burnt trees*. But see App. — *ἡν ἀσφαλέστερον*: apod. without *ἄν*, see on XII. 32. — *ἐπεργάσασθαι*: used of encroachments or trespass by planting or building on ground where one has no right, especially on sacred ground; cf. § 29 and Thuc. i. 139. 2, *ἐπικαλούντες ἐπεργασίαν Μεγαρέων τῆς γῆς τῆς λεπᾶς*. So Aesch. III. 113, *ἄνδρες παρανομώτατοι, ἐπεργάζοντο τὸ πεδίον* (of Cittica), Plat. Legg. 843 C, ὃς δ' ἀν ἐπεργάζηται τὰ τοῦ γείτονος ὑπερβάλλων τοὺς δρους, τὸ μὲν βλάβος ἀποινέτω. — *δσφπερ: inasmuch as* (G. 1184; H. 781), cf. δσψ, § 7. — *μᾶλλος*: without *ἄν*, see on XII. 99.

25. *τὴν ἄλλην οὐσίαν: and my property besides*. Exile and confiscation were the penalties. On this use of

ἄλλος, cf. §§ 22, 30, 32, and see G. 966, 2; H. 705. So Xen. *Anab.* i. 5. 5, οὐ γὰρ ἡν χρήτος οὐδὲ ἄλλο οὐδὲν δένδρον, Plat. *Phaed.* 110 E, καὶ λίθοις καὶ γῆ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις ζφοις τε καὶ φυτοῖς. So in Lat., as Liv. v. 39. 3, *exploratoriibus missis circa moenia aliasque portas*. — *παρέχομαι*: see on XII. 74. — *ἐκάστου μηνός*: see p. 4, note 31. — *ἐπιγνώμονας*: see p. 3.

26. *ζημίας*: money fines are here meant. — *σώματος*: he is thinking here of his status as a citizen (cf. XXIII. 12), which he would lose if convicted; for a different sense see on XXII. 20. — *ποιοῦμαι and ἡγοῦμαι*: see on XII. 7. — *ἔλασας*: i.e. the *μορφαι* of § 24. — *ἐξῆν*: see on *χρῆν*, XII. 32; so οἶόν τ' ἡν and *κρείττον* ἡν below.

27 ἔξορύξαντα, ὡς ἀφανίζων τυνὶ κρίνομαι. πότερον δέ μοι
 180 κρείττον ἦν, ὡς βουλή, δημοκρατίας οὐσῆς παρανομεῖν ἦ
 ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα; καὶ οὐ λέγω ὡς τότε δυνάμενος ἢ ὡς
 τυνὶ διαβεβλημένος, ἀλλ’ ὡς τῷ βουλομένῳ τότε μᾶλλον
 ἔξην ἀδικεῖν ἢ τυνί. ἐγὼ τούνν οὐδ’ ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ
 οὔτε τοιοῦτον οὔτε ἄλλο οὐδὲν κακὸν ποιήσας φανήσομαι.
 28 πῶς δ’ ἄν, εἰ μὴ πάντων ἀνθρώπων ἐμαυτῷ κακονούστατος
 ἦ, ὑμῶν οὕτως ἐπιμελουμένων, ἐκ τούτου τὴν μορίαν
 ἀφανίζειν ἐπεχείρησα τοῦ χωρίου, ἐν φιδένδρον μὲν οὐδὲ
 ἐν ἔστι, μᾶς δὲ ἐλάσι σηκός, ὡς οὐτός φησιν εἶναι,
 κυκλόθεν δὲ ὁδὸς περιέχει, ἀμφοτέρωθεν δὲ γείτονες περι-
 180 οικοῦσιν, ἀερκτον δὲ καὶ πανταχόθεν κάτοπτρόν ἔστιν;
 ὥστε τίς ἄν ἀπετόλμησε, τούτων οὕτως ἔχόντων, ἐπιχει-
 29 ρῆσαι τοιούτῳ πράγματι; δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι ὑμᾶς
 μέν, οἵς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως τὸν ἀπαντα χρόνον προστέτακται
 τῶν μορίων ἐλαῶν ἐπιμελεῖσθαι, μήθ’ ὡς ἐπεργαζόμενον
 185 πώποτε ζημιώσαι με μήθ’ ὡς ἀφανίσαντα εἰς κίνδυνον
 καταστῆσαι, τοῦτον δ’, ὃς οὔτε γεωργῶν ἔγγὺς τυγχάνει

27. **δυνάμενος**: ‘a man of influence’; for this absolute use, cf. Dem. xxiii. 174, δπως δν ὑμᾶς δύνασθαι νομίζῃ. Cf. δυνάμεως, § 21, and γενομένος ἐν δυνά-
 μει, xxiv. 25. The orators always
 eagerly disown any connexion with
 the Thirty. — ἀλλ’ ὡς ... ἔξην: we
 should naturally have a participle
 (ἔξεν, acc. abs.) after οὐ ... ὡς δυνά-
 μενος. — μᾶλλον ἔξην: that time was
 one of lawlessness (see on xii. 81);
 cf. Isocr. xviii. 16, τὸν δ’ οὐδέντα φανή-
 σομας τῷ πολιτῶν οὐτε χρήμασι ζημιώ-
 σας οὔτε περὶ τοῦ σώματος εἰς κίνδυνον
 καταστῆσας ... 17, καίτε πολλοὺς
 ἐπήρειν ἢ τῶν τριάκοντα πονηρὰ τοι-
 αῦτα τοιεῖν. It has been thought that

the functions of the Areopagus were
 utterly suspended during the rule of
 the Thirty.

28. **ὑμῶν ... ἐπιμελουμένων**: said in
 order to win the favour of the judges
 by complimenting them on their
 attention to duty. — οὐδὲ ίν: see on
 xxxi. 30. — εἶναι: impf., see on xvi.
 6. — **ἀπετόλμησε**: here ἀπο- is inten-
 sive in a bad sense, ‘have the impu-
 dence’; cf. Aeschin. I. 64, ἀπετόλμων
 ὑμῖν οὗτοι περὶ τῶν Ἐλληνικῶν συμ-
 βουλεύειν.

29. **μορίων**: on the accent, see p. 3.
 — **ἐπεργαζόμενον**: cf. § 24. — **ἐπιμελη-
 τής**: *curator*. — ηλικίαν ἔχων εἰδέναι :
 cf. ἐπειδὴ οἱ παῖδες ὑμῶν δλγουν ...

οὗτ' ἐπιμελητὴς ἡρημένος οὐθ' ἡλικίαν ἔχων εἰδέναι περὶ τῶν τοιούτων, ἀπογράψαι με μορίαν ἀφανίζειν.

30 Ἐγὼ τούννυν δέομαι ὑμῶν μὴ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους 170 πιστοτέρους ἡγήσασθαι τῶν ἔργων, μηδὲ περὶ ἀν αὐτοὶ σύνιστε, ταῦτ' ἀνασχέσθαι τῶν ἐμῶν ἔχθρῶν λεγόντων, ἐνθυμουμένους καὶ ἐκ τῶν εἰρημένων καὶ ἐκ τῆς ἄλλης 31 πολιτείας. Ἐγὼ γὰρ τὰ ἐμοὶ προστεταγμένα ἅπαντα προθυμότερον πεποίηκα ἡ ὡς ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως ἡναγκαζόμην, 175 καὶ τριταρχῶν καὶ εἰσφορὰς εἰσφέρων καὶ χορηγῶν καὶ τᾶλλα ληγουργῶν οὐδενὸς ἥπτον πολυτελῶς τῶν πολιτῶν.

32 καίτοι ταῦτα μὲν μετρίως ποιῶν ἀλλὰ μὴ προθύμως οὐτ' ἀν περὶ φυγῆς οὗτ' ἀν περὶ τῆς ἄλλης οὐσίας ἡγωνιζόμην,

ἡλικίαν ἔχουσι παιδεύσθαι, *Plat. Lach.* 187 C; see G. 1521. — **ἀπογράψαι**: of a formal *ἀπογραφή*, cf. § 2.

30. On the thought, cf. xii. 33. — τῶν ἔργων: *the facts*, i.e. the state of things as he has described it. — **αὐτοῖς**: 'from personal observation,' as the officials in charge of the trees. — **ταῦτα**: object of *λεγόντων*. — **λεγόντων**: supplementary partic. as object (G. 1580; H. 983); cf. *Plat. Apol.* 31 B, *ἀνέχεσθαι τῶν οἰκειῶν ἀμελουμένων*. For the causal gen., see Kühn. § 419, 1 d, but compare the nom. *βασανιζόμενοι*, § 35. — **ἐνθυμουμένους**: on the case, not agreeing with that of ὑμῶν, G. 928, 2; H. 941. But see on *λέγοντι*, xii. 1. — **πολιτείας**: i.e. his standing and conduct as a citizen; so, as contrasted with private life, in *Andoc. I. 10*, *ἢλθε μοι ἐπιθυμία τῆς τε μεθ' ὑμῶν πολιτείας ἔκεινης καὶ διατῆς*.

31. **προθυμότερον . . . ἡναγκαζόμην**: cf. xxv. 13, *καίτοι διὰ τοῦτο* (i.e. in the expenses of liturgies) *πλειστῶν ὑπὸ*

τῆς πόλεως προστατούμενων ἐδαπανώμην, ἵνα καὶ βελτίων ὑφ' ὑμῶν νομίσοιμην. This was a common boast; cf. *Iosocr. xv. 145*, *τὰς δ' ἀλλας ληγουργίας πολυτελέστερον λελητουργήκατε καὶ κάλλιον ὡν οἱ νόμοι προστάτουσιν*. — **τριταρχῶν**: on the trierarchy, see *Smith, Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *trierarchia*. — **εἰσφορὰς** and **χορηγῶν**: see on xii. 20. — **τᾶλλα ληγουργῶν**: such as the gymnasialarchy and the lampadarchy, see *Gow*, § 77 c. On the whole passage, cf. xxv. 12, *τετριπάρχηκα τε γὰρ πεντάκις καὶ τετράκις νεναυμάχηκα καὶ εἰσφορὰς ἐν τῷ πολέμῳ πολλὰς εἰσενήνοχα καὶ τᾶλλα λελητουργηκα οὐδενὸς χειρον τῶν πολιτῶν*.

32. **μετρίως**: here not in a good sense, as in xvi. 3, but like our 'only moderately,' = *mediocrity*. The thought is: 'I preferred to be generous beyond what the law required though I might merely have kept to its letter and saved money without any risk. Would such a man risk his all

πλείω δ' ἀν ἐκεκτήμην, οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν οὐδ' ἐπικύνδυνον
 180 ἐμαντῷ καταστήσας τὸν βίον· ταῦτα δὲ πράξας, ἢ οὐτός
 μου κατηγορεῖ, ἐκέρδαινον μὲν οὐδέν, ἐμαντὸν δ' εἰς
 33 κύνδυνον καθίστην. καίτοι πάντες ἀν ὁμολογήσαιτε δικαι-
 ὄτερον εἴναι τοῖς μεγάλοις χρῆσθαι τεκμηρίους περὶ τῶν
 μεγάλων καὶ πιστότερα ἡγεῖσθαι περὶ ὧν ἀπαστήνεται
 185 μαρτυρεῖ, μᾶλλον ἢ περὶ ὧν μόνος οὐτος κατηγορεῖ.

34 Ἐπει τούνν, ὡς βουλή, ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων σκέψασθε. μάρ-
 τυρας γὰρ ἔχων αὐτῷ προσῆλθον λέγων ὅτι μοι πάντες
 ἔπει εἰσὶν οἱ θεράποντες, οὓς ἐκεκτήμην ἐπειδὴ παρέλαβον
 τὸ χωρίον, καὶ ἔτοιμος εἴμι, εἰ τίνα βούλοιτο, παραδοῦναι
 190 βασανίζειν, ἡγούμενος οὗτος ἀν τὸν ἐλεγχον ἴσχυρότατον
 γενέσθαι τῶν τούτου λόγων καὶ τῶν ἔργων τῶν ἐμῶν.

merely to be rid of the encumbrance of a trumpery olive stump? — πλείω ... ἐκεκτήμην: 'I should be all the better off.' — οὐδὲν ἀδικῶν: 'without having broken the law.' — ἐκέρδαινον: 'I was to gain'; see on § 13.

33. τοῖς μεγάλοις τεκμηρίοις: i.e. as shown by his whole life and conduct rather than by the unsupported charge brought by Nicomachus. — περὶ τῶν μεγάλων: 'where the issues are great.' His citizenship and property were at stake. — περὶ ὧν... κατηγορεῖ: ordinarily this verb takes the acc., but here the clause with περὶ is used for the sake of parallelism with the foregoing.

34. ἐκ τῶν ἀλλων: 'in another light,' see on xvi. 18. Evidence drawn from slaves under the torture is frequently spoken of as being the strongest sort of testimony; cf. Isocr. xvii. 54, ὅρῳ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς καὶ περὶ τῶν ἰδίων καὶ περὶ τῶν δημοσίων οὐδὲν πιστεύετον οὐδὲ ἀληθέστε-

ρον βασάνου τομίζοντας, and Lyc. Leocr. 29, τίς γὰρ ὑμῶν οὐκ οἰδεν ὅτι περὶ τῶν ἀμφισβητουμένων πολὺ δοκεῖ δικαιώτατον καὶ δημοτικὸν εἶναι, θταν οἰκέται ἢ θεράπαις συνειδῶτιν ἢ δεῖ, τούτους ἐλέγχειν καὶ βασανίζειν. The owner of the slaves might offer them (παραδίδονται) or his opponent demand them (ἔξαρτεῖ, § 36). Either offer or demand was called a πρόκλησις, always made in the presence of witnesses. If this challenge was accepted, a contract was drawn up specifying the method of torture and naming the torturer (βασανιστής). An offer was supposed to be a proof of a good conscience; refusal to accept (παραλαμβάνειν, § 36) it, as here, or to comply with a demand (cf. § 36), was used as a strong argument against the refuser. The evidence of slaves was accepted only on the application of torture. On the whole subject, see M. and S. p. 890 ff.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *tormentum*. — εἴμι: see App.

35 οὗτος δ' οὐκ ἥθελεν, οὐδὲν φάσκων πιστὸν εἶναι τοὺς θεράπουσιν. ἐμοὶ δὲ δοκεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι, εἰ περὶ αὐτῶν μὲν οἱ βασανιζόμενοι κατηγοροῦσιν εὖ εἰδότες ὅτι ἀπο-195 θανοῦνται, περὶ δὲ τῶν δεσποτῶν, οἵς πεφύκασι κακο-
νούστατοι, μᾶλλον ἀν ἐλοιντο ἀνέχεσθαι βασανιζόμενοι ἡ
36 κατειπόντες ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν. καὶ μὲν δῆ, ὡς βουλή, φανερὸν οὖμα εἶναι ὅτι, εἰ Νικομάχον ἔξαι-
τοῦντος τοὺς ἀνθρώπους μὴ παρεδίδουν, ἐδόκουν ἀν ἐμαυ-
200 τῷ συνειδέναι· ἐπειδὴ τούννυν ἐμοῦ παραδιδόντος οὗτος παραλαβεῖν οὐκ ἥθελε, δίκαιον καὶ περὶ τούτου τὴν αὐ-
τὴν γνώμην σχεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ τοῦ κινδύνου οὐκ ἵσον
37 ἀμφοτέροις ὄντος. περὶ ἐμοῦ μὲν γὰρ εἰ ἐλεγον ἀ οὗτος ἐβούλετο, οὐδ' ἀν ἀπολογήσασθαι μοι ἔξεγένετο· τούτῳ
205 δ' εἰ μὴ ὡμολόγουν, οὐδεμιὰ ζημίᾳ ἔνοχος ἦν. ὥστε πολὺ

35. οὐκ ἥθελεν: see on xii. 58.—
οὐδὲν... πιστόν: cf. v. 3, ὡμᾶς δὲ ἀξιον
μὴ τοὺς μὲν τῶν θεραπόντων λόγους πι-
στοὺς ιομίζειν... § 4, ἵσασι γὰρ δτι, ἀν
ψευδόμενοι ἐλεγχθῶσιν, οὐδὲν μεῖζον τῶν
ὑπαρχόντων πείσονται, ἐὰν δὲ ὡμᾶς ἔξα-
πατηθῶσι, τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ζσονται
ἀπηλλαγμένοι. There Lysias holds a
brief against slave evidence; here he
must speak in its favour as he does in
what follows. Naturally it was easy
to argue on either side, and there is
much of this in both orators and
rhetoricians.—εἰ... μάν... δὲ: cf. xii.
36.—κακονούστατο: in spite of the
comparative kindness with which
Athenian slaves were treated and
the close intimacy to which they were
often admitted by their masters (see
Becker's *Charicles*, Göll's edition, III,
p. 23 ff.; English, p. 365 ff.), such a
passage as this shows that the natural

antagonism would out; cf. Plat. *Legg.*
758 E, δούλοι γὰρ ἀν καὶ δεσπόται οὐκ ἀν
ποτε γένοντο φίλοι. — βασανιζόμενοι:
supplementary partic. agreeing with
subject, for ἀνέχεσθαι here is intransitive.
But see on § 30.—κακῶν: gen-
erally here taken as referring to the
torture, but it may mean (as in v. 4
quoted above) their state of slavery;
see on § 16.

36. ἐμαυτῷ συνειδέναι: 'conscience stricken,' 'conscious of guilt,' used absolutely as in Lycurg. *Leocr.* 30, οὐτοι δὲ διὰ τὸ συνειδέναι ἐαυτῷ οὐκ ὑπέμεινεν ἀλλ' ἔφυγε (cf. *consciū sibi*, Sall. *Jug.* 40.2); generally with an accompanying acc. or participle.—ορχέτι: 'form.' On the tense, see on ἐτεδήμησε, xii. 71.

37. εἰ ἐλεγον: i.e. 'if their testimony
had been such.' — ζημίᾳ: in olive-tree
cases, the accuser was not punished if

μᾶλλον τοῦτον παραλαμβάνειν ἔχρην ἡ ἐμὲ παραδοῦναι προσῆκεν. ἐγὼ τούνν εἰς τοῦτο προθυμίας ἀφικόμην, ἥγοντας μετ' ἐμοῦ εἶναι καὶ ἐκ βασάνων καὶ ἐκ μαρτύρων καὶ ἐκ τεκμηρίων ὑμᾶς περὶ τοῦ πράγματος τὰλθῆ 38 πυθέσθαι. ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ χρῆ, ὡς βουλῆ, ποτέροις χρῆ πιστεύειν μᾶλλον, οἷς πολλοὶ μεμαρτυρήκασιν ἡ φῶ μηδεὶς τετόλμηκε, καὶ πότερον εἰκὸς μᾶλλον τοῦτον ἀκινδύνως ψεύδεσθαι ἡ μετὰ τοσούτου κινδύνου τοιούτου ἐμὲ ἔργον ἔργαστασθαι, καὶ πότερον οἷεσθε αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως 39 βοηθεῖν ἡ συκοφαντοῦντα αἰτιάστασθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν γὰρ εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς ἥγονται ὅτι Νικόμαχος ὑπὸ τῶν ἔχθρῶν πεισθεὶς τῶν ἐμῶν τοῦτον τὸν ἀγῶνα ἀγωνίζεται, οὐχ ὡς ἀδικοῦντα ἐλπίζων ἀποδείξειν, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀργύριον παρ' ἐμοῦ λήψεσθαι προσδοκῶν. δσφ γὰρ οἱ τοιοῦτοι εἰσιν ἐπαι-

he did not get the usually required one-fifth of the votes; see *Introd.* § 49, and *M. and S.* p. 952. But he was liable for any serious damage done to the slaves under torture, *ibid.* p. 892. — *ἴνοχος* ἥν: equiv. to a potential indic. with *ἄν*, and hence an apod. of an unreal condition. *GMT.* 431. — *μετ' ἐμοῦ*: 'for my interest.' See *App.*

38. *οἷς* ἥ . . . φ: by the use of the plur. *οἷς*, the speaker treats himself as one of a class, and then draws particular attention to his opponent by the sing. φ. — *μῆδείς*: indef.; see on § 11. — *ἀκινδύνως*: see on *ζημίᾳ*, § 37. — *βοηθεῖν*: cf. § 20, *εἰ τῆς πόλεως ἔνεκα ἔπραττες*. — *συκοφαντοῦντα*: here the charge of 'sycophancy' (already referred to in §§ 1 and 23) is more closely pressed. It was a very common form of invective in the courts. The speaker in *xxii. 1* protests against its applica-

tion to him; see also on *xii. 2*. On the 'sycophants,' see *Smith, Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *sycophantes*.

39. *Ἐγὼ μέν*: 'I for my part,' frequently so used without a following *δέ*. See note on § 5, and cf. *Kr. Spr.* 69, 36, 2. — *ἔχθρῶν*: perhaps he includes *γειτόνες δάφοροι*. — *ὡς*: belongs to *ἐλπίζων*, as the following *ὡς* to *προσδοκῶν*. — *ἀργύριον*: the *chantage* or blackmail form of sycophancy is meant; cf. the rich Crito's complaint about the sycophants, *νῦν γὰρ ἐμέ τινες εἰς δίκας ἔγουσιν, οὐχ ὅτι ἀδικοῦνται ὑπὸ ἐμοῦ, ἀλλ' ὅτι νομίζουσιν ἥδον ἀν με ἀργύριον τελέσαι ἡ πράγματα ἔχειν*, *Xen. Mem.* ii. 9. 1. — *δσφ*: see on § 7. — *ἐπαιτιώτατοι*: means with *δσφ*, *the more blame such suits (κινδύνων) cause*, i.e. *the more invurious they are*. The adj. is active and causal in sense, as in *Thuc.* v. 65, 2, *τῆς ἐξ Ἀργους ἐπαι-*

220 τιώτατοι καὶ ἀπορώτατοι τῶν κινδύνων, τοσούτῳ πάντες
 40 αὐτοὺς φεύγουσι μάλιστα. ἐγὼ δέ, ὡς βουλή, οὐκ ἡξίουν,
 ἀλλ' ἐπειδήπερ με γῆτιάσατο, παρέσχον ἐμαυτὸν ὃ τι βού-
 λεσθε χρῆσθαι, καὶ τούτου ἔνεκα τοῦ κινδύνου οὐδενὶ ἐγὼ
 τῶν ἔχθρῶν διηλλάγην, οἱ ἐμὲ ἡδιον κακῶς λέγουσιν ἡ
 225 σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἐπαινοῦσι, καὶ φανερῶς μὲν οὐδεὶς πάποτε
 ἐμὲ αὐτῶν ἐπεχείρησε ποιῆσαι κακὸν οὐδέν, τοιούτους δὲ
 ἐπιπέμπουσί μοι, οἵς ὑμεῖς οὐκ ἀν δικαίως πιστεύοιτε.
 41 πάντων γάρ ἀθλιώτατος ἀν γενούμην, εἰ φυγὰς ἀδίκως
 καταστήσομαι, ἅπαις μὲν ὧν καὶ μόνος, ἐρήμουν δὲ τοῦ
 230 οἴκου γενομένου, μητρὸς δὲ πάντων ἐνδεούς, πατρίδος δὲ
 τοιαύτης ἐπ' αἰσχίσταις στερηθεὶς αἰτίαις, πολλὰς μὲν
 ναυμαχίας ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς νεναυμαχηκώς, πολλὰς δὲ μάχας
 μεμαχημένος, κόσμιον δὲ ἐμαυτὸν καὶ ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ καὶ
 ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ παρασχών.

42 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὡς βουλή, ταῦτα μὲν ἐνθάδε οὐκ οἶδ' ὃ τι
 δεῖ λέγειν ἀπέδειξα δ' ὑμῖν ὡς οὐκ ἐνῆν σηκὸς ἐν τῷ
 χωρίῳ καὶ μάρτυρας παρεσχόμην καὶ τεκμήρια. ἀ χρὴ
 μεμνημένους διαγυγνάσκειν περὶ τοῦ πράγματος, καὶ

τὸν ἀναχωρήσων, the retreat which had caused him (Agis) to be blamed. See App.—**ἀπορώτατοι:** cf. § 2.—**φεύγουσι:** *avoid, sc. by buying off their accusers.*

40. αὐτῶν: instead of ὧν; see on XXXII. 27.—**ἐπιπέμπουσι:** *set on, let loose;* so of the Sphinx, ἀν δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς Ἀιδας Καδμεῖος ἐπιπέμπει, Eur. *Phoen.* 810.

41. ἐρήμους: *desolate, that is, with no heirs to succeed.* The adj. is common in this sense in Isaeus, as in vi. 5, *ἔδοξεν αὐτῷ διαθέσθαι τὰ αὐτοῦ, μη ἐρημον καταλίπῃ τὸν οἶκον, εἰ τι πάθοι.* — **κόσμιον:** a highly complimentary

epithet, cf. XII. 20, XVI. 18, XXII. 19, and XXI. 19, ἡγουμένους ταῦτην εἶναι τὴν ληγουργίαν ἐπιπονωτάτην, διὰ τέλους τὸν πάντα χρόνον κόσμιον εἶναι καὶ σώφρονα.

42. ἐνθάδε: i.e. before the Areopagus, where speakers were expected to keep more closely to the point than in other courts; cf. III. 46, *παρ' ὑμῖν (the Areopagites) οὐ νόμιμόν ἐστιν ξένω τοῦ πράγματος λέγειν.* See M. and S. p. 933. The appeal to pity (§ 41) is therefore brief, and so is the summary of the speech in this epilogue.—**πιθέσθαι δτοι ἔνεκα:** three verbs depend on these words,

ἀξιοῦν παρὰ τούτου πυθέσθαι ὅτου ἔνεκα, ἐξὸν ἐπ' αὐτο-
 240 φώρῳ ἐλέγξαι, τοσούτῳ χρόνῳ ὕστερον εἰς τοσοῦτόν με
 43 κατέστησεν ἀγῶνα, καὶ μάρτυρα οὐδένα παρασχόμενος ἐκ
 τῶν λόγων ζητεῖ πιστὸς γενέσθαι, ἐξὸν αὐτοῖς τοῖς ἔργοις
 ἀδικοῦντα ἀποδεῖξαι, καὶ ἐμοῦ ἀπαντας παραδιδόντος
 τοὺς θεράποντας οὓς φησι παραγενέσθαι, παραλαβεῖν
 245 οὐκ ἥθελεν.

κατέστησεν, ζητεῖ, ἥθελεν. — ἐπ' αὐτο-

43. ἐπ': of ground for confidence,
 frequent with *πιστὸς* and *πιστεῖν*.
 φώρῳ: see on § 20.

AGAINST ERATOSTHENES.

INTRODUCTION.

THIS speech, as the Greek title shows, was delivered by Lysias himself, and it is unique among his extant forensic orations in this particular. Its subject-matter is of great biographical and historical value. In it Lysias gives some incidents in his own life up to the time of the Anarchy, and an account, from a thoroughly hostile point of view, of the government of the Thirty Tyrants. Both these matters have already been treated in a general way in the Introduction to this book, and specific points find mention in the notes and appendix to this speech. It remains, therefore, to deal here with Eratosthenes and with the occasion on which the speech was delivered.

Eratosthenes, here accused of the murder of Lysias's brother Polemarchus, first appears in history in the time of the Four Hundred. The oligarchs in Athens had sent out their emissaries to tamper with the Athenian forces on the coast of Asia Minor,¹ and such a mission seems to have been held by Eratosthenes at the naval station on the Hellespont. But the cause of the oligarchs failed on the Hellespont as completely as in the fleet at Samos, and Eratosthenes deserted the ship of which he was trierarch, and returned to Athens.² From the silence of Lysias it is evident that Eratosthenes was not one of the Four Hundred, although he is accused of favouring their designs. The orator can find nothing against him in his life for the next six years.³ It is possible that he joined Theramenes and his friends in overthrowing the first oligarchy, but Lysias would naturally say nothing of such a democratic action.⁴

¹ See on § 42.

² § 42.

³ § 43.

⁴ § 67.

After Aegos Potami the oligarchs, whose clubs had probably never ceased their activity in secret, began to come forward more openly. They chose a 'central committee' of five called ephors,⁵ and Eratosthenes was one of these. It cannot be said that he played an important part in the committee, for Lysias can prove only that he was a member of it.⁶ He did, however, become one of the Thirty Tyrants. This is a fact mentioned by Xenophon,⁷ the only ancient historian who names Eratosthenes. He may have been one of the ten persons nominated by Theramenes.⁸ It comes out clearly from the account of his share in the arbitrary government of the Thirty that he belonged to the moderate faction, and that he obeyed the tyrannical majority only against his will. Even Lysias himself can make no serious answer to the defence brought forward by the advocates of Eratosthenes that he had done less wrong than any other member of the Thirty.⁹ He joined Theramenes in opposing the measures against the metics which led to the death of Polemarchus, but he was no more able than his leader to induce the majority to take moderate views.¹⁰ After the death of Theramenes the moderates seem to have been for a time completely at the mercy of the terrorists, and Eratosthenes, with the rest, had to choose between death and submission. In this crisis he was found wanting, and took part, to his shame, in the outrages in Eleusis and Salamis.¹¹

But with the defeat of the Thirty at Munychia and the death of Critias, the moderate party raised its head once more. Eratosthenes, with Phidon and other opponents of the party of Critias,¹² stayed in Athens when the majority of the Thirty fled to Eleusis, and Phidon was chosen one of the First Ten who succeeded to the government. Eratosthenes was not one of these, but Lysias insin-

⁵ § 43. Boerner (*De rebus a Graecis inde ab anno 410 usque ad annum 403 a. Chr. n. gestis*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 75 ff.) endeavours to prove that the ephors were regularly constituted magistrates who governed Athens from the beginning of the official year in which the

Thirty were chosen until the Thirty were elected. But see Beloch, *Att. Polit. seit Perikles*, p. 93.

⁶ § 46.

⁷ *Hellen.* ii. 3. 2.

⁸ § 76.

⁹ § 89.

¹⁰ §§ 25, 27, 50.

¹¹ § 52.

¹² § 55.

uates that he had such an evil influence¹³ with Phidon and the others that they disappointed the people and did not carry out the purpose for which they had been chosen, the reconciliation of the democrats and the oligarchs.¹⁴ Of course he was not a member of the Second Ten, a body not mentioned by Lysias,¹⁵ for his past membership in the Thirty would cut him off from being included among these patriots. Apparently, however, he remained in Athens during the five months of the First Ten's government, and until the triumphant entry of the followers of Thrasybulus.

Thus it was that Lysias on his return to Athens found there the very man through whose agency Polemarchus had been delivered over to the Thirty for execution. Eratosthenes had not gone to Eleusis under the terms of the amnesty,¹⁶ for, once there, he could not have been brought back to answer such a charge as Lysias had to make.¹⁷ But remaining as he did in Athens, he must have known that charges would be brought against him by his enemies, and hence he must have availed himself as soon as possible of that clause in the amnesty by which those of the Thirty who chose to submit their accounts of office (*εὐθυναὶ*¹⁸) were no longer liable to

¹³ § 58.

¹⁴ Why was not Eratosthenes one of the First Ten? Was it because Phidon and his associates were not really of the party of Theramenes, but held a middle ground between them and Critias, while Eratosthenes belonged to Theramenes out and out? Or was it because Phidon and his colleagues were real favourers of the Thirty, and were chosen by a trick played on the people? If the latter is the true explanation, Eratosthenes, as a known opponent of the Thirty, would not have been a member of this Ten. ¹⁵ See App. to § 60.

¹⁶ A general amnesty followed the year of anarchy. From it were excepted the Thirty, the First Ten, the Eleven, and the Ten who had governed

in the Piraeus, unless they were willing to submit to *εὐθυναὶ* for their official acts. Eleusis was recognized as an asylum in which the Thirty and any others who feared to return to Athens might remain unmolested. See Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 38, and Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 39.

¹⁷ If past murders are included under the provision in Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 39, *τὰς δὲ δίκας τοῦ φύρου εἶναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, εἴ τις τινα αὐτόχειρ ἀπέκτεινεν ἢ έτρωσεν*, this would not apply to Eratosthenes, who had not killed Polemarchus with his own hand. However doubtful the rest of the text is here (I follow Sandys), still *αὐτόχειρ* or something of similar meaning, like *αὐτοχειρὶ* or *αὐτοχειρὶ*, must be read.

¹⁸ See Introd. § 7.

attacks for the past.¹⁹ This would be the easiest way once and for all to have done with those who had anything against him.²⁰ The solemn entry of the patriots from the Piraeus took place on the 12th of Boëdromion (September), B.C. 403.²¹ Soon afterwards the regular magistracies were restored and the courts reopened. Among the first cases to come before the *λογισταί*²² would be those of Eratosthenes, Phidon, or others among the Thirty, of the two Tens, of the Ten who had governed the Piraeus, and of the Eleven. As charges would naturally be brought against such men (except against the Second Ten²³) by different accusers,²⁴ the courts prob-

¹⁹ It has sometimes been thought (with Lübbert, *De amnestia anno CCCCIII decreta*, but against him see Grasser, *Amnestie des Jahres 403*) that the oaths of confirmation of the amnesty were not sworn until after the final overthrow of the Thirty in Eleusis. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 43. But Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 40, διελθόνταν δὲ καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἐν Ἐλευσὶν κατοικήσαντας ἔτει τρίτῳ μετὰ τὴν ἔξοικησιν, ἐπὶ Σενανέτου δρόχοντος (B.C. 401-0), shows that this final overthrow did not take place until two years after the democracy was restored. Hence Xenophon, unless absolutely at fault, can refer only to a reaffirmation of the oaths. It cannot be supposed that Eratosthenes's trial occurred so late as this.

²⁰ For further arguments in support of the view that the speech was delivered at an accounting, see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 540 ff.; M. and S. p. 257 f.; Jebb, *Attic Orators*, I, p. 262; Weidner, in his edition of Lysias, p. 33; Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 217 ff. (who notes that ἡκουσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι in § 22, cf. § 84, shows that Eratosthenes came voluntarily to the court). On the other hand, Fuhr and

Gebauer in their editions (p. 18, p. 17) hold that Eratosthenes was tried for murder in the court at the Palladium. Their strongest argument is that there is no direct mention of an *εἴθυνα* in the text. But the same sort of argument is equally strong against them; for Lysias in the first part of his speech makes almost as much of the pillage of his property as he does of the execution of his brother, and he does not even mention Polemarchus in his recapitulation at the end. Further, the action of Archinus (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 40) in persuading the Senate to put to death without trial a person who had broken the oath *μὴ μητρικαῖν* makes it very doubtful whether the partisans of the Thirty were at this time brought to court in any cases except those of *εἴθυνα*.

²¹ Plut. *Moralia*, p. 349 F.

²² See Introd. § 7.

²³ We have the express statement in Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38 that no accuser appeared at the *εἴθυνα* of the Second Ten.

²⁴ So Weidner, *ibid.* See below on *ἡμῶν*, § 100.

ably sat a number of times in the cases that the *λογισταί* saw fit to bring forward, and these cases would follow in close succession, if some of them were not actually tried simultaneously in different Heliastic courts.²⁵ Among the accusers at the *εὑθνα* of Eratosthenes was Lysias. It was his moral duty, as next of kin to Polemarchus, to accuse the man who had been the agent in the murder, and he was entitled to do it in person either as an ordinary metic or as an isoteles.²⁶ For even metics had the right to bring either public or private suits in cases of injury committed against them personally, and, by all Greek moral law, Lysias had suffered such an injury in the murder of his brother. Perhaps as a metic²⁷ he needed a patron (*προστάτης*) at the preliminary hearing before the *λογισταί*, but before the Heliasts he could come forward and plead independently.²⁸

According to the law, the accuser was bound in a *γραφὴ περὶ τῶν εὑθνῶν* to state some specific act whereby the retiring official had injured him,²⁹ and not simply to bring sweeping charges. Hence Lysias specifies the murder of his brother. But Eratosthenes had not killed Polemarchus with his own hand, and he had several

²⁵ Hence one reason for the use of the pl. *οὐραὶ* and the like in this speech. This use, where the pl. is not a mere rhetorical amplification behind which Eratosthenes stands as the representative of the whole Thirty (whose future punishment or acquittal is, according to Lysias, to depend on this test case), may refer to the *εἰθνα* of Phidion and others going on at the same time. The principal passages are §§ 2, 22, 35, 36, 79, 80, 85, 86, 91, 100. But such places as *Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος*, § 62, and *τούτου καταψηφεῖσθε*, § 90, show that Eratosthenes was the actual defendant in this particular trial.

²⁶ So Weidner, *ibid.*; Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 542; M. and S. p. 257, note 148, p. 266, note 182; Wilamowitz,

ibid. p. 221. This view is doubted by Fuhr, p. 12, and note 2. But to believe that metics had no right to appear as accusers at the *εὑθνα* is virtually to suppose that officials were irresponsible for acts committed against them.

²⁷ See Introd. § 15 and note 32 upon it.

²⁸ M. and S. p. 753.

²⁹ M. and S. p. 266, and note 182. But just as in his *δοκιμαστὰ*, Mantitheus thought it proper (xvi. 9), after answering the specific charge, to give an account of his whole life, so at his *εὑθνα* Eratosthenes doubtless did the same; and hence probably the accusers were not held to the strict letter of the law in their attacks. On the general nature of the *δοκιμαστὰ*, see Introd. § 8.

lines of defence,—such as that the Thirty had forced him to make the arrest, and that he had not been in favour of the killing of the metics, but, on the contrary, had opposed it. Lysias, therefore, does not confine himself to the specific charge. In fact he devotes to it only a little more than the first third of the speech (§§ 1–36). The remainder consists of an arraignment of the whole body of Tyrants and of the putting forth of the claim that Eratosthenes, as a member of the government, must bear the blame and be held responsible for all its acts. But Lysias does not rest even here. He goes back into the history of earlier attempts to establish an oligarchy in Athens, in order to show the part taken in these attempts by Eratosthenes and his friends and fellow-rulers, particularly Phidion and Theramenes (§§ 37–61). On his friendship with the latter Eratosthenes chiefly relied, because at the time of this trial the people of Athens had forgotten that Theramenes was ever their enemy, in their admiration of his stand against Critias. He had atoned for all his faults by a martyr's death. Hence it is Lysias's object to blacken the character of Theramenes as much as he can, and he devotes a good part of his speech to the attempt.²⁰ After this digression (§§ 62–78), he returns again to the general attack on the Thirty, calls for capital punishment on their representative (§§ 79–85, 90–91), sneers at the arguments of the advocates and witnesses of Eratosthenes (§§ 86–89), exhorts the democrats and the ex-oligarchs among the judges alike to do their duty in this test case (§§ 92–98), and closes with an appeal to the memory of the dead (§§ 99–100).

From the tone of the address to the judges one might think that Lysias felt that there could not be two opinions about the verdict that must follow. And yet he must have known how great were the chances against a conviction. The judges were composed of men of all parties, chosen by the lot. Many of them, who had

²⁰ On the truthfulness of the attack, see the notes and appendix to these sections (62–78); also *Der Athener Theramenes*, an exhaustive monograph by

Dr. Carl Pöhl in *Jahrbücher, Supplementb.* IX, 1877, p. 227 ff. The judicious view there taken is strongly confirmed by Aristotle, *Resp. Ath.* 28. 5.

belonged to the city party, hated the Thirty indeed, but still they were not democrats. Some had belonged like Eratosthenes himself to the faction of Theramenes, and the partisans of the First Ten were probably represented. Even in the Piraeus party there were men who wanted only a moderate, not a downright democracy. All these different men knew that Eratosthenes had never been prominent in the Thirty's crimes (§ 89); all would see in a verdict against him a judgment passed on their own personal and party views. There was in the minds of democrats and oligarchs alike an inclination to forget the past and not to increase the list, already too long, of the victims of that year of blood. It was only later that party feeling and party revenge were manifested in all their bitterness.³¹ Further, Eratosthenes had defenders. Men of position were ready to be his advocates³²; he had plenty of witnesses.³³ But Lysias found it difficult to get witnesses to support his main charge because the men he wanted had been members of the oligarchical clubs.³⁴ The actual verdict is not known. However, several years later, in 399-8, one of the Thirty (probably either Phidon or Eratosthenes) was brought before the Areopagus on a charge of wilful murder.³⁵ Hence, if not actually acquitted at their *εὐθυναι*, Eratosthenes and Phidon may have merely suffered *ἀτιμία*,³⁶ being prohibited from holding office, voting in the Assembly, or from being present at sacrifices and festivals. A fine may have been inflicted, so large that *ἀτιμία* was the legal result of their inability to pay it. Whatever the verdict was, the public appearance of Lysias and his brilliant speech must have been of great assistance to him in his new profession of *λογογράφος*.

³¹ See Lys. xviii and xxv, and on Archinus in note 20 above.

³² §§ 86-88.

³³ § 87.

³⁴ § 46 f.

³⁵ Lys. x. 31. The speaker was born in 417, so that his *δοκιμασία eis ἄνδρας* could not have taken place before 399 B.C. (Weidner, *ibid.* p. 34).

³⁶ See Introd. § 51.

ΚΑΤ^Ω ΕΡΑΤΟΣΘΕΝΟΥΣ

ΤΟΤ ΓΕΝΟΜΕΝΟΤ ΤΩΝ ΤΡΙΑΚΟΝΤΑ, ΟΝ ΑΤΤΟΣ ΕΙΠΕ ΛΤΣΙΑΣ.

1 Οὐκ ἄρξασθαί μοι δοκεῖ ἄπορον εἶναι, ὃ ἄνδρες δικασταί, τῆς κατηγορίας, ἀλλὰ παύσασθαι λέγοντι· τοιαῦτα αὐτοῖς τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τοσαῦτα τὸ πλῆθος εἴργασται, ὥστε μήτ' ἀν ψευδόμενον δεινότερα τῶν ὑπαρχόντων κατηγορῆσσαι, μήτε τάληθή βουλόμενον εἰπένι ἄπαντα δύνασθαι, ἀλλ' ἀνάγκη ἡ τὸν κατήγορον ἀπειπεῖν ἡ τὸν χρόνον ἐπικλιπεῖν. τούναντίον δέ μοι δοκοῦμεν πεύσεσθαι ἡ ἐν τῷ πρὸ τοῦ χρόνῳ. πρότερον μὲν γὰρ ἔδει τὴν ἔχθραν τοὺς

1. ἄρξασθαι: cf. Cic. de *Imp. Pomp.* 3, huius orationis difficultius est exitum quam principium invenire.—λέγοντι: partic. with verb of ceasing; cf. § 100. G. 1580; H. 981. The dat. is assimilated to μοι (G. 928, 1; H. 941), cf. xxii. 8.—τοιαῦτα: on the asyndeton, see App.—αὐτοῖς: Eratosthenes and his colleagues.—ἄν: on its position, see G. 1311; H. 862. With δύνασθαι it forms the apod. to ψευδόμενον, if one took to lying, and to βουλόμενον. The inf. κατηγορῆσαι depends on δύνασθαι, but εἰπεῖν belongs equally to βουλόμενον and to δύνασθαι. On ὥστε μήτ' ἀν δύνασθαι, a potential expression, not in indir. disc., see GMT.

592.—ἀνάγκη: see App.—ἔπιλαπτιν: intrans., fail, run out.

2. τούναντίον πεύσεσθαι: our experience will be contrary.—πρὸ τοῦ: before this, former, the phrase serving as adj. τοῦ is here demonstrative. G. 984; H. 655d; and see on xxiii. 8.—ἔχθραν: personal enmity. In order to avoid the suspicion of being a sycophant (cf. xxii. 1) or a busybody, it was the custom to state one's personal grievance in bringing a suit. Cf. [Dem.] LIII. 1, οὐ συκοφαντῶν ἀλλ' ἀδικούμενος καὶ ὑβριζόμενος ὑπὸ τούτων, καὶ οἴημενος δεῖν τιμωρεῖσθαι (for in such circumstances Greek ethics taught that revenge was a duty; cf. Lys. XII. 23 and 60; XXIV. 1; XXXII. 22)

κατηγοροῦντας ἐπιδεῖξαι, ἵτις εἴη πρὸς τοὺς φεύγοντας·
 10 νυνὶ δὲ παρὰ τῶν φευγόντων χρὴ πυνθάνεσθαι ἵτις ἦν
 αὐτοῖς πρὸς τὴν πόλιν ἔχθρα, ἀνθ' ὅτου τοιαῦτα ἐτόλμησαν
 εἰς αὐτὴν ἔξαμαρτάνειν. οὐ μέντοι ὡς οὐκ ἔχων οἰκείας
 ἔχθρας καὶ συμφορὰς τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι, ἀλλ' ὡς ἀπασι
 πολλῆς ἀφθονίας οὐστης ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων ἥτις δημο-
 3 σίων ὄργυζεσθαι. ἐγὼ μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί, οὗτοί
 ἐμαυτοῦ πώποτε οὔτε ἀλλότρια πράγματα πράξας νῦν
 ἡμάγκασμα ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων τούτου κατηγορεῖν, ὥστε
 πολλάκις εἰς πολλὴν ἀθυμίαν κατέστην, μὴ διὰ τὴν ἀπει-
 20 ρίαν ἀναξίως καὶ ἀδυνάτως ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ καὶ ἐμαυτοῦ
 τὴν κατηγορίαν ποιήσομαι· ὅμως δὲ πειράσομαι ὑμᾶς ἔξ
 ἀρχῆς ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι δι' ἐλαχίστων διδάξαι.

4 Οὐμὸς πατὴρ Κέφαλος ἐπείσθη μὲν ὑπὸ Περικλέους εἰς
 ταύτην τὴν γῆν ἀφικέσθαι, ἔτη δὲ τριάκοντα ωκησε, καὶ
 οὐδενὶ πώποτε οὔτε ἡμέως οὔτε ἐκεῖνος δίκην οὔτε ἐδικασά-

τὴν ἀπογραφὴν ἐποιησάμην. — *τοὺς φεύ-
 γοντας*: φεύγων is the regular word
 for defendant or accused. — *ἄνθ' ὅτου*:
 wherefore, that. The phrase is used
 loosely as a conjunction. H. 999. —
ὡς οὐκ ἔχων: as one who has no. See
 G. 1574; H. 978; and cf. § 13 and
 XXXI. 24. — *τοὺς λόγους ποιοῦμαι*: a
 phrase used either of accusation as
 here and XXII. 1, or of defence as in
 XXIV. 26.

3. *πράγματα*: business of any sort,
 but freq. as here law business, law-
 suits. — *ὑπὸ τῶν γεγενημένων*: “ὑπὸ¹
 with a thing (*instead of a person*)
 personifies it, setting it in a sort
 of imaginative light,” Gildersleeve,
A. J. P. VI, 488. Cf. XXIV. 6, 17;
 and see on VII. 21. — *κατέστην*: with

πολλάκις this aor. forms a transition
 from the common to the gnomic aor.
 G. 156; cf. § 41; XXII. 16. —
ἀπειράταν: the section reads like the
 common plea for indulgence, but this
 was really Lysias's *début*. — *ποιήσο-
 μαι*: fut. indic. after a clause denoting
 fear, a rare usage. G. 1379; H. 887 b.
 See App. — *ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι*: for the
 mood, see on XVI. 9. — *δι' ἐλαχίστων*:
 for the usual διὰ βραχυτάτων of § 62,
 XVI. 9. See App.

4. *Κέφαλος*: on the facts, see
 Introd. § 15. — *ἡμεῖς*: we brothers. —
δικασάμεθα: for the active meaning,
 cf. § 100, and see G. 1245; H. 816, 8.
 The word generally applied to the
 plaintiff is διώκειν, esp. with φεύγειν.
Cf. XXXII. 2. — *φιοῦμεν*: note the

25 μεθα οὗτε ἐφύγομεν, ἀλλ' οὗτως ὥκοῦμεν δημοκρατούμενοι
ώστε μήτε εἰς τοὺς ἄλλους ἔξαμπτάνειν μήτε ὑπὸ τῶν
5 ἄλλων ἀδικεῖσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα πονηροὶ καὶ
συκοφάνται ὄντες εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, φάσκοντες
χρῆναι τῶν ἀδίκων καθαρὰν ποιῆσαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τοὺς
30 λοιποὺς πολίτας ἐπ' ἀρετὴν καὶ δικαιοσύνην προτρέψαι,
τοιαῦτα λέγοντες οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων, ὡς ἐγὼ περὶ
τῶν ἐμαυτοῦ πρῶτον εἰπών καὶ περὶ τῶν ὑμετέρων ἀναμνῆ-
6 σαι πειράσομαι. Θέογνις γὰρ καὶ Πείσων ἔλεγον ἐν τοῖς
τριάκοντα περὶ τῶν μετοίκων, ὡς εἴεν τινες τῇ πολιτείᾳ
35 ἀχθόμενοι· καλλίστην οὖν εἶναι πρόφασιν τιμωρεῖσθαι
μὲν δοκεῖν, τῷ δ' ἔργῳ χρηματίζεσθαι· πάντως δὲ τὴν μὲν
7 πόλιν πένεσθαι, τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν δεῖσθαι χρημάτων. καὶ
τοὺς ἀκούοντας οὐ χαλεπῶς ἐπειθον· ἀποκτιννύναι μὲν γὰρ
ἀνθρώπους περὶ οὐδενὸς ἥγοῦντο, λαμβάνειν δὲ χρήματα
40 περὶ πολλοῦ ἐποιοῦντο. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς δέκα συλλα-
βεῖν, τούτων δὲ δύο πένητας, ἵνα αὐτοῖς ἢ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους

tense, different from that of ἐφύγομεν.
G. 1250; H. 836.

5. ἐπειδὴ δ' οἱ τριάκοντα κτλ.: cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 12, πρῶτον μὲν οὖς πάντες ὥδεσαν ἐν τῇ δημοκρατίᾳ ἀπὸ συκοφαντας ξῶντας καὶ τοὺς καλοὺς κάγαθοὺς βαρεῖς δητας, συλλαμβάνοντες ὑπῆρχον θανάτου. Lysias himself admits, xxv. 19, that the Thirty began well; so Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 35.—φάσκοντες: though pretending.—τῶν ἀδίκων καθαράν: cf. sceleris purus.—οὐ ἐτόλμων: very like ἥθελον with a neg. (cf. § 58), ‘could not bring themselves,’ cf. xxxii. 2. Without a neg. the verb sometimes means ‘have the heart to,’ cf. xxiv. 7; xxxii. 15, 20. For the ordinary meaning, see above, § 2.

6. ἐν: at meetings of, cf. § 69.—

μετοίκων: see Introd. § 15.—πολιτείᾳ: this word, in the orators generally reserved for the democracy (cf. xxxi. 32) is by Lysias applied also to the Thirty's government. Here and in § 77 it is put into the mouths of members of the Thirty, but not so in xvi. 3. 5. — τιμωρεῖσθαι . . . χρηματίζεσθαι: note the chiastic order.—πάντως: at any rate.—χρημάτων: esp. as pay for the Spartan troops, § 94, cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 21.

7. περὶ οὐδενὸς ἥγοῦντο: ‘they cared not a whit.’ See App.—ἥγοῦντο and ἐποιοῦντο: on the synonymous ending of the two members, see on xvi. 13. — δέκα: Xenophon says thirty, *Hellen.* ii. 3. 21, 40. — ἢ: for the mood, see on xvi. 6. — τοὺς

ἀπολογία, ὡς οὐ χρημάτων ἔνεκα ταῦτα πέπρακται, ἀλλὰ συμφέροντα τῇ πολιτείᾳ γεγένηται, ὥσπερ τι τῶν ἄλλων 8 εὐλόγιας πεποιηκότες. διαλαβόντες δὲ τὰς οἰκίας ἐβάδιζον· καὶ ἐμὲ μὲν ξένους ἐστιῶντα κατέλαβον, οὓς ἔξελάσαντες Πείσωνι με παραδιδόασιν· οἱ δὲ ἄλλοι εἰς τὸ ἐργαστήριον ἐλθόντες τὰ ἀνδράποδα ἀπεγράφοντο. ἐγὼ δὲ Πείσωνα μὲν ἥρωτων εἰ βούλοιτο με σῶσαι χρήματα λαβών· δὸς 9 ἔφασκεν, εἰ πολλὰ εἴη. εἶπον οὖν ὅτι τάλαιτον ἀργυρίου βοέτοιμος εἴην δοῦναι· δὸς δὲ ὠμολόγησε ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἡ πιστάμην μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὔτε θεοὺς οὔτ' ἀνθρώπους νομίζει, ὅμως δὲ ἐκ τῶν παρόντων ἐδόκει μοι ἀναγκαιότατον εἶναι 10 πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὠμοσεν, ἔξωλειαν ἔαντφ καὶ τοῖς παισὶν ἐπαρώμενος, λαβὼν τὸ τάλαιτόν με 55 σώσειν, εἰσελθὼν εἰς τὸ δωμάτιον τὴν κιβωτὸν ἀνοίγνυμι· Πείσων δὲ αἰσθόμενος εἰσέρχεται, καὶ ἴδων τὰ ἐνόντα καλεῖ

ἄλλους: the other eight. — ὥσπερ . . . πεποιηκότες: 'just as on the adoption, on good grounds, of any other measure.' On this use of the partic., see G. 1576; H. 978 a; and App. The partic. is pl. as if *ἴνα ἀπολογίας ἔχωσιν* had preceded. H. 633.

8. οἰκίας: it was illegal to enter a man's house against his will (see on *xxiiii. 2*), but under the Thirty, said Thrasybulus (*Xen. Hellēn.* ii. 4. 14), δειπνοῦντες συνελαμβανομέθα καὶ καθεύδοντες καὶ ἀγοράζοντες. — ἐμὲ μέν: in μέν the thought of his brother is latent; see on *vii. 5*. — ἀπεγράφοντο: the usual word used of lists or inventories; M. and S. p. 304. — δὸς δέ: on the accent of the pronominal article, see G. 130, 981¹; H. 272 b.

9. τάλαιτον ἀργυρίου: see table of money, p. 206. — ταῦτα: this pl. is

freq. in Greek where we use sing.; cf. §§ 14 and 68. — ποιήσειν: for the mood, cf. § 10 σώσειν, § 14 ποιήσειν, and see on μεταμελήσειν, *xvi. 2*. — θεοὺς . . . νομίζει: the use of ἀνθρώπους is striking, for with θεοί this verb means believe in. See App. On the mood, see G. 1487; H. 933. — ἐκ τῶν παρόντων: the prep. denotes ground or inference, 'judging from the present state of things.' G. 1209 d; H. 798 d; see on *xvi. 18*.

10. ὠμοσεν: for the tense, see on κατήλθετε, *xvi. 6*. — ἐπαρώμενος: denotes manner. G. 1563, 3; H. 969 a. On the form of oath, see on *xxxii. 13*. — λαβὼν: prot. of σώσειν (G. 1563, 5; H. 969 d), which depends on ὠμοσεν (G. 1286; H. 948 a). — δωμάτιον: chamber, his bedroom, cubiculum.

τῶν ὑπηρετῶν δύο καὶ τὰ ἐν τῇ κιβωτῷ λαβεῖν ἐκέλευσεν.
 11 ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐχ ὅσον ὀμολόγητο εἶχεν, ὃ ἀνδρες δικασταί,
 ἀλλὰ τρία τάλαντα ἀργυρίου καὶ τετρακοσίους κυζικηνοὺς
 60 καὶ ἕκατὸν δαρεικοὺς καὶ φιάλας ἀργυρᾶς τέτταρας, ἐδεό-
 μην αὐτοῦ ἐφόδια μοι δοῦναι, ὃ δ' ἀγαπήσειν με ἔφασκεν;
 12 εἰ τὸ σῶμα σώσω. ἔξιοντι δ' ἐμοὶ καὶ Πείσωνι ἐπιτυγχά-
 νει Μηλόβιός τε καὶ Μηνησιθείδης ἐκ τοῦ ἐργαστηρίου
 ἀπίστες καὶ καταλαμβάνοντι πρὸς αὐτὰς τὰς θύρας καὶ
 65 ἐρωτῶσιν ὅποι βαδίζοιμεν. ὃ δ' ἔφασκεν εἰς τάδελφοῦ τοῦ
 ἐμοῦ, ἵνα καὶ τὰ ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ οἰκίᾳ σκέψηται. ἐκείνον μὲν
 οὖν ἐκέλευνον βαδίζειν, ἐμὲ δὲ μεθ' αὐτῶν ἀκολουθεῖν εἰς
 13 Δαμνίππον. Πείσων δὲ προσελθὼν σιγᾶν μοι παρεκελεύετο
 καὶ θαρρεῖν, ὡς ἡξων ἐκεῖσε.

11. οὐχ δον: emphatic, hence = οὐ τοσοῦτον μόνον δον, not only the sum . . . but. Cf. Thuc. i. 51. 1, ὑποτοτήσαντες (τὰς ναῦς) ἀπ' Ἀθηνῶν εἴναι, οὐχ δοσα ἑώρων ἀλλὰ τλεούς, and τοσαῦτα, § 95. — ὃ ἀνδρες: the invocation, as often, makes the statement more emphatic; cf. xvi. 16, 19. — τάλαντα: on the sum and on the coins which follow, see p. 206. — φιάλας: the φιάλη was a flat drinking cup, without handle or stem, shaped like a deep saucer, and was of earthenware or metal, often highly ornamented. — ἐφόδια: travelling expenses, cf. xvi. 14. — ἀγαπήσειν . . . σώσω: the dir. discourse was ἀγαπή-
 σεις εἰ σώσεις, a cond. of the threatening or warning kind. G. 1405; cf. §§ 35 and 90; xxxi. 29. The mood of the prot. is unchanged from the dir. discourse. On the meaning of ἀγα-
 πήσειν, 'only too glad,' cf. xxii. 15, and ἀγαπητῶς, xvi. 16.

12. ξειθοντι: plural, though when a partic. which belongs to two or more substs. precedes the first, it is often singular. Cf. § 72; 80 xiii. 17, γνοὺς δὲ Θηραμένης καὶ οἱ δλλοι, ibid. 23, παραγενθεοντος δὲ Νικλας καὶ Νικομένης καὶ δλλοι. Cf. xii. 55, where it follows the first. Likewise sometimes a finite verb, as here ἐπιτυγχάνει, though ἀπύρτες follows; cf. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 4. 16, ἐπεμψέ με Ἀριάδης καὶ Ἀρτοδότος, πιστοὶ δύτες Κύρῳ. See G. 901; H. 607. — Μηλόβιος: all three men were of the Thirty; see the list in Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 2. — πρὸς . . . θύρας: at the very door. See App. — βαδίζοιμεν: opt. because dependent on a historic present. G. 1268. — εἰς Δαμνίππον: on the omission, see G. 953; H. 730 a. Cf. τάδελφοῦ above. Of Damnippus we know nothing except from this oration.

13. ὃς: see on § 2. — φέχοντο: they were gone. G. 1256; H. 827; cf. § 75

70 Θέογνιν ἐτέρους φυλάττοντα· ὡς παραδόντες ἐμὲ πάλιν
ῳχοντο. ἐν τοιούτῳ δ' ὅντι μοι κινδυνεύειν ἐδόκει, ὡς τοῦ
14 γε ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος ἥδη. καλέσας δὲ Δάμνιππον
λέγω πρὸς αὐτὸν τάδε· “ἐπιτήδειος μέν μοι τυγχάνεις ὁν,
ἥκω δ' εἰς τὴν σὴν οἰκίαν, ἀδικῷ δ' οὐδέν, χρημάτων δ'
τι ἔνεκα ἀπόλλυμα. σὺ οὖν ταῦτα πάσχοντί μοι πρόθυμον
παράσχου τὴν σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν εἰς τὴν ἐμὴν σωτηρίαν.”
οὐδὲ δ' ὑπέσχετο ταῦτα ποιήσειν. ἐδόκει δ' αὐτῷ βέλτιον
εἶναι πρὸς Θέογνιν μνησθῆναι· ἥγεντο γὰρ ἀπαν ποιήσειν
15 αὐτόν, εἰ τις ἀργύριον διδοίη. ἐκείνου δὲ διαλεγομένου
80 Θεόγνιδι (ἐμπειρος γὰρ ὁν ἐτύγχανον τῆς οἰκίας καὶ ἥδη
ὅτι ἀμφίθυρος εἴη) ἐδόκει μοι ταύτη πειράσθαι σωθῆναι,
ἐνθυμουμένῳ ὅτι, ἐὰν μὲν λάθω, σωθήσομαι, ἐὰν δὲ ληφθῶ,
ἥγονμην μέν, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη πεπεισμένος ὑπὸ τοῦ Δαμνίπ-

—ἐν τοιούτῳ: ‘in such a straight.’
Cf. xxx. 3, *εἰς τοῦτο κατέστημεν*, and
Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 5, διὰ τὸ ἐν τοιούτῳ
εἶναι τοῦ κινδύνου προσιέντος.—τοῦ γε
ἀποθανεῖν ὑπάρχοντος: ‘as there was
death to start with, at any rate.’ On
the inf., see G. 1547; H. 959.

14. *ἥκω κτλ.*: note the short sentences, spoken with bated breath.—
ἀδικῷ: translate as pf. (GMT. 27; H. 827).—*ἀπόλλυμα*: translate as fut. (GMT. 32); see on ἐλάμβανον, § 27.—
πρόθυμον: properly used only of persons, here transferred to δύναμιν. So with ὄρμῃ, Plut. *Philop.* 9. The phrase
=πρόθυμον παράσχου σεαυτὸν κατὰ τὴν
σεαυτοῦ δύναμιν. —*εἰς*: of purpose or end, rare in the orators. Cf. § 18, and Isocr. viii. 59, *εἰς τὰς ἐκκλησίας ἀργύριον διὰ παρέχουμεν*. G. 1207d; H. 796 c.—*διδοῖη*: indir. disc.; the tense of the apod. shows the form of condition.

15. *ἀμφίθυρος*: i.e. it ran back to the next street and hence had a back as well as a front entrance.—*ταύτῃ*: this way, dat. of manner. G. 1181; H. 779 a. See App. —*ἥγονμην*: here the construction introduced by ἐνθυμουμένῳ δτι is varied. The natural apod. to ἐὰν ληφθῶ would have been ἢ οὐδὲν ἥττοις ἀφεθῆσομαι ἢ ὁμολως ἀποθανοῦμαι. But the further supposition about Theognis came into Lysias’s mind, and he inserted *ἥγονμην* to prevent one cond. clause from following directly upon another (ἐὰν ληφθῶ, εἰ Θέογνις εἴη); hence the apod. of ληφθῶ becomes indir. discourse.—*μέν*: belongs properly to *εἰ εἴη*, not with *ἥγονμην*, but *μέν* is sometimes thus attached to the main verb upon which two contrasted clauses depend; cf. Plat. *Rep.* 334 C, *εἰκός μέν, οὐδὲ διὰ τις ἥγηται χρηστούς, φιλεῖν, οὐδὲ δ' ἀν-*

που χρήματα λαβεῖν, οὐδὲν ἡττον ἀφεθήσεσθαι, εἰ δὲ μῆ, 16 ὁμοίως ἀποθανεῖσθαι. ταῦτα διανοηθεὶς ἔφευγον, ἐκείνων ἐπὶ τῇ αὐλείᾳ θύρᾳ τὴν φυλακὴν ποιουμένων· τριῶν δὲ θυρῶν οὐσῶν, ἄς ἔδει με διελθεῖν, ἀπασται ἀνεψυγμέναι ἔτυχον. ἀφικόμενος δὲ εἰς Ἀρχένεω τοῦ ναυκλήρου ἐκεῖνον πέμπω εἰς ἄστυ, πενσόμενον περὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ· ἡκων 17 οὐδὲ ἔλεγεν ὅτι Ἐρατοσθένης αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ λαβὼν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον ἀπαγάγοι. καὶ ἔγω μὲν τοιάντα πεπυσμένους τῆς ἐπιούστης νυκτὸς διέπλευσα Μέγαράδε. Πολεμάρχῳ δὲ παρήγγειλαν οἱ τριάκοντα τὸ ἐπ' ἐκείνων εἰθισμένον παράγγελμα, πύνειν κάνειον, πρὸν τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν δι' οὗ ἡντινα ἔμελλεν ἀποθανεῖσθαι· οὕτω πολλοῦ ἐδέησε κριθῆ- 18 ναι καὶ ἀπολογήσασθαι. καὶ ἐπειδὴ ἀπεφέρετο ἐκ τοῦ

πονηρούς, μισεῖν. — ὁμοίως: *all the same.*

16. **αὐλείᾳ θύρᾳ**: *the front door*, by which one would pass from the *αὐλὴ* into the street. — **τριῶν θυρῶν**: on their position, see App. — **ἀνεψυγμέναι ἔτυχον**: ‘happened to be standing open,’ lit. *to have been opened*. Thus the pf. partic. retains its ordinary force. GMT. 147; see on § 27. — **ἄστυ**: Athens, where Polemarchus lived; the shipcaptain, like Lysias, lived in the Piraeus. — **ἡκων**: *came back*; see on XVI. 4.

17. **ἴπι**: of time. G. 1210, 1 b; H. 799, 1 c. — **κάνειον**: not the *tree* which we erroneously call hemlock (the hemlock-spruce), but the wild plant *conium maculatum*, ‘poison hemlock,’ of the umbelliferae order, like carrots, parsnips, etc. From the leaves is distilled the poison, called *coniine* or *conia*. — **πρὶν εἰπεῖν**: here = *without telling*. On

this use of *πρὶν*, cf. Aesch. III. 235, *πλεούς ἡ χιλίους καὶ πεντακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν* (sc. οἱ τριάκοντα) *πρὶν καὶ τὰς αἰτίας ἀκούσαι ἐφ'* als *ἔμελλον ἀποθνήσκειν*. — **ἀποθανεῖσθαι**: on the tense, see on *κινδυνεύειν*, XVI. 13. — **πολλοῦ ἐδέησε**: on this personal use of the act. of *δέω*, cf. XXIII. 13; XXIV. 1; and see H. 743 b. For the dependent inf., see G. 1521. — **κριθῆναι κτλ.**: this neglect of the legal forms is dwelt upon in §§ 81 and 82. It was an’ Athenian view that *δουκήτους* (*uninhabitable*) *εἴραι ταῦτα τῶν πόλεων* ἐν als *ἀκριτολ. τινες ἀπόλλυνται τῶν πολιτῶν*, Isocr. XV. 22; yet even under the democracy men were sometimes executed untried. Cf. XIX. 7, XXV. 26, and the proposal in XXII. 2. For the Thirty’s practice, see Aeschines quoted above. The same number is given by Isocr. VII. 67; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 35.

δεσμωτηρίου τεθνεώς, τριῶν ἡμίν οἰκιῶν οὐσῶν ἐξ οὐδεμιᾶς εἴασαν ἐξενεχθῆναι, ἀλλὰ κλεισίον μισθωσάμενοι προύθεντο αὐτόν· καὶ πολλῶν ὄντων ἴματίων αὐτοῦσιν οὐδὲν 100 ἔδοσαν εἰς τὴν ταφήν, ἀλλὰ τῶν φίλων ὃ μὲν ἴματιον ὃ δὲ προσκεφάλαιον ὃ δὲ ὃ τι ἔκαστος ἔτυχεν ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν 18 ἐκείνου ταφήν. καὶ ἔχοντες μὲν ἐπτακοσίας ἀσπίδας τῶν ἡμετέρων, ἔχοντες δὲ ἀργύριον καὶ χρυσίον τοσοῦτον, 105 χαλκὸν δὲ καὶ κόσμον καὶ ἔπιπλα καὶ ἴματια γυναικεία 105 ὅσα οὐδεπώποτε ὤντο κτήσεσθαι, καὶ ἀνδράποδα εἴκοσι καὶ ἑκατόν, ὃν τὰ μὲν βέλτιστα ἔλαβον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ εἰς τὸ δημόσιον ἀπέδοσαν, εἰς τοσαύτην ἀπληστίαν καὶ αἰσχροκέρδειαν ἀφίκοντο καὶ τοῦ τρόπου τοῦ αὐτῶν ἀπόδειξιν ἐποιήσαντο· τῆς γὰρ Πολεμάρχου γυναικὸς χρυσοῦς ἐλικτῆρας, οὓς ἔχουσα ἐτύγχανεν, ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον 110 ἥλθεν εἰς τὴν οἰκίαν Μηλόβιος, ἐκ τῶν ὥτων ἐξείλετο.

18. οὐσῶν: concessive, like *δυτῶν* and *ἔχοντες* below. G. 1583, 6; H. 969 e. — ἐξενεχθῆναι: this, like *efferō*, was the regular word used of funerals. The corpse, washed and anointed, was dressed in white, crowned with flowers and laid out (cf. *προύθεντο*) in the front part of the house on a couch (*κλίνη*) about which were set the flasks called *λήκυθοι*. Friends and relatives attended (but see on § 87) this lying in state (the *πρόθετος*), and the funeral (*έκφορά*, § 87) followed early the next morning. See Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 362 ff., or Becker's *Charicles*, English edition, p. 385 ff., and on § 21 below. — κλειστὸν: hut, hovel. See App. — ἔτυχεν: on the omission of the participle, see G. 1586; H. 984 a; cf. xxiv. 20.

19. τοσοῦτον: with reference to § 11. — χαλκόν: raw material for shields. — κόσμον: ornaments, 'objects of *virtu*', cf. Hdt. iii. 123, *τὸν κόσμον τὸν ἐκ τοῦ ἀνδρεῶν τοῦ Πολυκράτεος*. This included also men's and women's ornaments (Aesch. *Theb.* 397, Hdt. v. 92. 7), services of plate (Ath. p. 231 B), etc. — καὶ τοῦ τρόπου: after *εἰς τοσαύτην* a clause with *ώστε* might follow, cf. xxxxi. 19; but instead another statement is added in a co-ordinate clause. This statement is then justified by *τῆς γὰρ κτλ.* So xiii. 80, οὐτος δὲ οὖτω τολμηρὸς καὶ ἐκεὶ ἐγένετο· *συνηκολούθει γὰρ κτλ.* But see App. — ἐλικτῆρας: called also *ἐνώτια*, *ἐλλόβια*. Cf. in aures. — ὅτε τὸ πρῶτον: as soon as, although generally *τὸ πρῶτον* means *the first time*. See App.

20 καὶ οὐδὲ κατὰ τὸ ἐλάχιστον μέρος τῆς οὐσίας ἐλέου παρ' αὐτῶν ἐτυγχάνομεν, ἀλλ' οὐτως εἰς ἡμᾶς διὰ τὰ χρήματα ἔξημάρτανον, ὡσπερ οὐδὲ ἄν ἔτεροι μεγάλων ἀδικημάτων 115 ὁργὴν ἔχοντες, οὐ τούτων ἀξίους γ' ὄντας τῇ πόλει, ἀλλὰ πάσας μὲν τὰς χορηγίας χορηγήσαντας, πολλὰς δ' εἰσφορὰς εἰσενεγκόντας, κοσμίους δ' ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς παρέχοντας καὶ πᾶν τὸ προστατόμενον ποιοῦντας, ἐχθρὸν δ' οὐδένα 120 κεκτημένους, πολλοὺς δ' Ἀθηναίων ἐκ τῶν πολεμίων λυσαμένους τοιούτων ἡξίωσαν, οὐχ ὁμοίως μετοικοῦντας ὡσπερ 21 αὐτοὶ ἐποιτεύοντο. οὗτοι γὰρ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐξῆλασαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἀδίκως ἀποκτείναντες ἀτάφους ἐποίησαν, πολλοὺς δ' ἐπιτίμους ὄντας ἀτίμους κατέστησαν, πολλῶν δὲ θυγατέρας μελλούστας

20. οὐδὲ ἄν ἔτεροι, sc. ἔξημάρτον (G. 1313; H. 863), of which ἔχοντες is protasis. G. 1413; H. 902. On the ethics, cf. §§ 2 and 60. — τόλει: dat. of interest or relation. G. 1172; H. 771; cf. Antiphon, vi. 10, χάριτος δέκιον είναι τῇ πόλει. — χορηγίας: on the duty of the Chorēgus, see Gow, § 211; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 359; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. To gain good-will speakers would often recount the performance of this and other public duties; see on § 38, and cf. VII. 31; XXXII. 24. This scheme often worked well. But it is amusing to note how Lysias, having used it himself here, warns the judges against its employment by his adversary in § 38. — εἰσφοράς: special war-taxes, levied according to property; see Gow, p. 132; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 364. Cf. VII. 31; XXII. 13. — κοθμίους: for the meaning, see on VII. 41. — λυσαμένους: the λύσις αἰχμαλώτων

was one of those acts of humanity of which speakers had good reason to be proud; cf. Dem. VIII. 70; ἔχων καὶ τριπαρχός εἰπεῖν καὶ χορηγός καὶ χρημάτων εἰσφοράς καὶ λύσεις αἰχμαλώτων καὶ τοιάντας δλλας φιλανθρωπίας. — ἡξίωσαν: a new construction (anacoluthon, H. 1063), for all the participants might depend on the first ἡμᾶς, but now ἡξίωσαν τοιούτων picks up the threads and sums up the whole. — οὐχ ὁμοίως: litotes. 'We as metics were better than they as citizens.'

21. εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους: in the orators, *εἰς* is rarely used when persons are the end of motion. See App. On the thought, cf. § 95 end. — ἀτάφους: because they had not the usual rites; see on § 18 and cf. 96, also Cic. *Quinct.* 50, si funus id habendum est quo non amici conveniunt ad exsequias co-honestendas. — ἀτίμους: on ἀτί-

22 ἐκδίδοσθαι ἐκάλυσαν. καὶ εἰς τοσοῦτόν εἰσι τόλμης ἀφιγμένοι ὡσθ' ἡκουσιν ἀπολογησόμενοι, καὶ λέγουσιν ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν οὐδὲν αἰσχρὸν εἰργασμένοι εἰσίν. ἐγὼ δὲ ἐβουλόμην ἀν τοὺς ἀληθῆ λέγειν· μετῆν γάρ ἀν καὶ

23 ἐμοὶ τούτου τάγαθοῦ οὐκ ἐλάχιστον μέρος. νῦν δὲ οὔτε

24 130 πρὸς τὴν πόλιν αὐτοῖς τοιαῦτα ὑπάρχει οὔτε πρὸς ἐμέ· τὸν ἀδελφὸν γάρ μου, ὡσπερ καὶ πρότερον εἶπον, Ἐρατοσθένης ἀπέκτεινεν, οὔτε αὐτὸς ἴδιᾳ ἀδικούμενος οὔτε εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὄρων ἔξαμαρτάνοντα, ἀλλὰ τῇ ἑαυτοῦ παρανομῇ προθύμως ἔξυπηρετῶν. ἀναβιβασάμενος δὲ αὐτὸν 135 βούλομαι ἐρέσθαι, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί· τοιαύτην γάρ γνώμην ἔχω· ἐπὶ μὲν τῇ τούτου ὠφελείᾳ καὶ πρὸς ἔτερον περὶ τούτου διαλέγεσθαι ἀσεβὲς εἶναι νομίζω, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου βλάβῃ καὶ πρὸς αὐτὸν τούτον ὄσιον καὶ εὐσεβές· ἀνάβηθι οὖν μοι καὶ ἀπόκριναι, διὰ τοῦτο ἐρωτῶ.

μία, see Introd. § 51. — *ἴκαλυσαν*: by confiscating the property of their fathers or brothers (*cf.* xvi. 10) so that there was no money for the dowry, all-important in Greek marriages.

22. *ἴβουλόμην* *ἄν*: potential, referring to present time, = *vellem*. G. 1339; *cf.* vii. 12. — *οὐχ ἐλάχιστον*: litotes, *cf.* *οὐχ δυοῖς*, § 20.

23. *νῦν δέ*: *but as it is, as things are*. — *πρός*: of personal relations (G. 1216, 3 b; H. 805, 3 b), *cf.* § 53 and xviii. 6, *τοιαῦτα ἐνομίζετο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος εἶναι*, and xvi. 10, with *βεβίωκα* and *ἐνεμάδην*. — *τοιαῦτα*: *i.e.* *οὐα λέγουσιν* ὡς οὐδὲν κακὸν κτλ., § 22. — *ἀπέκτεινεν*: not, of course, with his own hand; *cf.* § 67. — *οὐτε ἀδικούμενος*: a personal wrong would have excused him, for popular ethics were

not yet beyond the ‘eye for an eye’ stage; *cf.* Plat. *Rep.* 332 B, *δρεῖλεται δέ γε, οἷμα, παρὰ γε τοῦ ἔχθροῦ τῷ ἔχθρῳ, ὅπερ καὶ προσῆκει (appropriate), κακὸν τι* (where Plato is giving the popular doctrine, not his own). See on §§ 2 and 60. Plato himself defends the Christian view.

24. *ἀναβιβασάμενος*: *ἀνα-*, because of the platform, *βῆμα*, Introd. § 44. — *ἐρέσθαι*: a speaker might cross-question his opponent; *cf.* xxii. 5, and see Introd. § 48. — *ἀσεβές*: to speak to or have dealings with the murderer of one’s kinsman was, according to the popular view, *ἀσεβές*, as such a one was *ἐναγγής* or *μιαρός*. But Lysias says that, to secure revenge (Greek ethics again), it is even *ὅσιον* and *εὐσεβές* to speak to Eratosthenes.

25 'Απήγαγες Πολέμαρχον ή οὐ; Τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων προσταχθέντα δεδιώς ἐποίουν. 'Ησθα δ' ἐν τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ, ὅτε οἱ λόγοι ἐγύγνοντο περὶ ἡμῶν; 'Η. Πότερον συνηγόρευες τοῖς κελεύουσιν ἀποκτεῖναι η̄ ἀντέλεγες; 'Αντέλεγον. "Ινα ἀποθάνωμεν η̄ ἵνα μὴ ἀποθάνωμεν; 145 "Ινα μὴ ἀποθάνητε. 'Ηγούμενος ἡμᾶς ἄδικα πάσχειν η̄ δίκαια; "Αδίκα.

26 Εἴπ', ὁ σχετλιώτατε πάντων, ἀντέλεγες μὲν ἵνα σώσειας, συνελάμβανες δὲ ἵνα ἀποκτείνειας; καὶ ὅτε μὲν τὸ πλήθος ἦν ὑμῶν κύριον τῆς σωτηρίας τῆς ἡμετέρας, ἀντιλέγειν 150 φῆς τοῖς βουλομένοις ἡμᾶς ἀπολέσαι, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐπὶ σοὶ μόνῳ ἐγένετο καὶ σώσαι Πολέμαρχον καὶ μή, εἰς τὸ δε- σμωτήριον ἀπήγαγες; εἴθ' ὅτι μέν, ὡς φῆς, ἀντειπὼν οὐδὲν ὠφέλησας, ἀξιοῖς χρηστὸς νομίζεσθαι, ὅτι δὲ συλλαβὼν ἀπέκτεινας, οὐκ ἔμοὶ καὶ τουτοισὶ δοῦναι δίκην;

27 Καὶ μὴν οὐδὲ τοῦτο εἰκὸς αὐτῷ πιστεύειν, εἰπερ ἀληθῆ λέγει φάσκων ἀντειπεῖν, ὡς αὐτῷ προσετάχθη. οὐ γὰρ δή που ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις πίστιν παρ' αὐτοῦ ἐλάμβανον.

25. *τὰ . . . ἐτοίουν*: instead of a direct answer Eratosthenes excuses himself by giving his reason for obedience. But his other answers are straight to the point. — *οἱ λέγοι*: refers to § 6. — *συνηγόρευες*: *did you concur?*

26. *εἰτα*: and so, used in indignant or ironical inquiry. — *τὸ πλήθος ὑμῶν*: *the majority of you*; but cf. § 42. — *ἀντιλέγειν*: represents the *impf.*, see on xvi. 6, *ἰππεῖν*, and cf. *ἀντιλεγον* above. It shows the *attitude* of Eratosthenes, which was one of opposition. The arrest, however, was a single act, hence the *aor.* *ἀπήγαγες*. — *ἐτι*: *in the power of*. — *ἄξιοις*:

claim. — *τουτοισι*: the *-t* adds emphasis, and a gesture often accompanied a word so emphasised; cf. *hice* and *celui-ci*. — *δοῦναι*: depends, like *κομίζεσθαι*, on *ἄξιοις* which is understood after the strong *οὐκ*. Cf. xiv. 23, *εἰ τις ὑμῶν τὸν Ἀλκιβιάδην ἀξιώσει διὰ μὲν τοὺς βοηθοῦντας σφίζεσθαι, διὰ δὲ τὴν αὐτοῦ πονηρίαν μὴ ἀπολέσθαι*. See App.

27. *τοῦτο*: here refers forward. — *δή που*: adds an ironical or sarcastic tone; cf. xxxi. 28. — *ἐν τοῖς μετοίκοις*: *in the case of mere metics*; cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 8. 15, *ἐν ἐμαντρῷ πεῖραν* (*experiment*) *λαβών*. — *πίστιν*: here not *oath*, as in § 9, but *guarantee*,

ἔπειτα τῷ ἡττον εἰκὸς ἦν προσταχθῆναι ἡ ὅστις ἀντειπών
γε ἐτύγχανε καὶ γνώμην ἀποδεδειγμένος; τίνα γὰρ εἰκὸς
160 ἦν ἡττον ταῦτα ὑπηρετῆσαι ἡ τὸν ἀντειπόντα οἷς ἐκεῖνοι
28 ἐβούλοντο πραχθῆναι; ἔτι δὲ τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις Ἀθηναίοις
ἰκανή μοι δοκεῖ πρόφασις εἶναι τῶν γεγενημένων εἰς τοὺς
τριάκοντα ἀναφέρειν τὴν αἰτίαν, αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς τριάκοντα,
ἐὰν εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς ἀναφέρωσι, πῶς ὑμᾶς εἰκὸς ἀποδέ-
29 χεσθαι; εἰ μὲν γάρ τις ἦν ἐν τῇ πόλει ἀρχὴ ἵσχυροτέρα,
νόφ' ἡς αὐτῷ προσετάττετο παρὰ τὸ δίκαιον ἀνθρώπους
ἀπολλύναι, ἵσως ἀν εἰκότως αὐτῷ συγγνώμην εἴχετε· νῦν
δὲ παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ λήψεσθε δίκην, εἴπερ ἔξεσται τοῖς
τριάκοντα λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα
30 ἐποίουν; καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐκ ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ ἀλλ' ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ,
σώζειν τ' αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐψηφισμένα παρόν, συλλα-

assurance, as in § 77. Metics were not important enough persons to make their cases the test of a man's loyalty to the Thirty. Had Eratosthenes objected, the Thirty would not have made a test case of it.—*Δλάμβανον*: the *impf.* here expresses *likelihood*; see on *ἐκέρδαινον*, VII. 32; so the pres. above, § 14.—*ἴπειτα*: *besides*.—*ἐτύγχανε*: with the *impf.* of this verb the aor. partic. retains its own past time. GMT. 146, and *cf.* § 64. The pf. partic. following keeps its own time as usual; see on § 16.—*γνώμην*: the article is often omitted with this word.—*ταῦτα*: cogn. acc. G. 1051; H. 715.

28. *ἴτι δέ*: *and another point*.—*πρόφασις*: here not *pretext*, but *ground for excuse*. In xxiv. 1, it means *occasion*.—*εἰς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς*: there is a fallacy here, for Erato-

sthenes would set himself apart from the others because of his protest.

29. *προσετάττετο*: the rel. clause is assimilated to conform to the protasis, and must be translated accordingly; *cf.* xxxi. 26. G. 1440; H. 919 b; *cf.* *ἡσαν*, § 98.—*νῦν δέ*: see on § 23.—*παρὰ τοῦ ποτε καὶ*: the *τοτέ* makes *τοῦ* more general, as we say 'whom in the world,' and the *καὶ* strengthens *λήψεσθαι*, 'will you ever punish?' *Cf.* xxiv. 12, *καὶ θλεγεν*, and Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 47, *τοῦτον τὸ ποτε καὶ καλέσαι χρή*;

30. *καὶ μὲν δή*: *furthermore*.—*σώζειν*: with *αὐτὸν* it has the lit. meaning *save*, but with *τὰ ἐψηφισμένα* it means *keep to*. The whole thought is made clear in § 31; he might have pretended not to see Polemarchus.—*τέ*: might properly follow *αὐτὸν*, but the idea is *σώζειν τ' αὐτὸν καὶ σώζειν*

βών ἀπήγαγεν. ὑμεῖς δὲ πᾶσιν ὁργίζεσθε, ὅσοι εἰς τὰς οἰκίας ἥλθον τὰς ὑμετέρας ζήτησιν ποιούμενοι ἡ ὑμῶν ἡ 31 τῶν ὑμετέρων τινός· καίτοι εἰ χρὴ τοῖς διὰ τὴν ἔαυτῶν 175 σωτηρίαν ἐτέρους ἀπολέσασι συγγνώμην ἔχειν, ἐκείνοις ἀν δικαιότερον ἔχοιτε· κίνδυνος γὰρ ἦν πεμφθεῖσι μὴ ἐλθεῖν καὶ καταλαβούσιν ἔξαρνοις γενέσθαι. τῷ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένει ἐξῆν εἰπεῖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπήντησεν, ἐπειτα ὅτι οὐκ εἶδεν· ταῦτα γὰρ οὐτ' ἐλεγχον οὔτε βάσανον εἶχεν, 180 ὥστε μηδ' ὑπὸ τῶν ἐχθρῶν βουλομένων οἰόν τ' εἶναι 32 ἐξελεγχθῆναι. χρῆν δέ σε, ὡς Ἐρατόσθενες, εἰπερ ἡσθα χρηστός, πολὺ μᾶλλον τοῖς μέλλουσιν ἀδίκως ἀποθανεῖσθαι μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι ἡ τοὺς ἀδίκως ἀπολουμένους συλλαμβάνειν. νῦν δέ σου τὰ ἔργα φανερὰ γεγένηται οὐχ

τὰ κτλ. Cf. § 62, 66, and Dein. I. 6, δικάσαι τε περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς· παρόν: ‘though he might have’; the partic. in the acc. absol. representing impf. time (G. 1280; H. 856 a) in a potential expression without *δν*. Cf. μέλλοντα, § 99, and see on χρῆν, § 32. — ὁργίζεσθε: the Thirty obliged good citizens to share their illegal work (*βουλόμενοι ὡς πλείστους ἀναπλήσαι αἰτιῶν*, Plat. *Apol.* 32 C), such as searching houses. The thought is, ‘you scorn such people, but you can pardon them, for they did it in fear for their lives; but this defence will not hold for Eratosthenes.’

31. ἐκείνοις: refers to ὅσοι κτλ., § 30. — δικαιότερον: sc. than Eratosthenes. — κίνδυνος κτλ.: Socrates refused to obey such an order, but he said, *ἴσως δν διὰ ταῦτ' ἀπέθανον, εἰ μὴ ἡ ἀρχὴ* (the Thirty’s) διὰ ταχέων

κατελύθη, Plat. *Apol.* 32 D. — ἔξην εἰπεῖν: *might have said* (but he didn’t); see on χρῆν, § 32. — ἴπειτα: i.e. if it was proved that he did meet him. — ταῦτα: refers merely to *δτι οὐκ εἶδεν*. — εἶχεν: ‘carried with it,’ ‘involved’; cf. Cic. *de Or.* I. 125, *stultitia excusationem non habet*. — βουλομένων: may be concessive or conditional.

32. χρῆν δέ σε μηνυτὴν γενέσθαι: *you ought to have become an informer* (implying that he did not become one). On the omission of *δν* in such an expression, see G. 1400; H. 897; GMT. 416 ff.; and cf. ἔξην, § 31, VII. 26; κάλλιον ἦν, § 52; δέξιον ἦν, § 64; οἶνον τὸ ἦν, VII. 26; κρείττον ἦν, VII. 27; ἀσφαλέστερον ἦν, VII. 24; εἰδός ἦν, XXIII. 15; συνέφερε, XXII. 13. But in § 48, *δν* is used. — μηνυτὴν: here in a good sense, an unusual usage; cf. § 48.

185 ὡς ἀνιωμένου ἀλλ' ὡς ἡδομένου τοῖς γιγνομένοις, ὥστε τούσδε ἐκ τῶν ἔργων χρὴ μᾶλλον ἢ ἐκ τῶν λόγων τὴν ψῆφον φέρειν, ἀλλ' ἵστασι γεγενημένα τῶν τότε λεγομένων τεκμήρια λαμβάνοντας, ἐπειδὴ μάρτυρας περὶ αὐτῶν οὐχ οἶν τε παρασχέσθαι. οὐ γάρ μόνον ἡμῖν παρεῖναι οὐκ 190 ἔξῆν, ἀλλ' οὐδὲ παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὥστ' ἐπὶ τούτοις ἔστι πάντα τὰ κακὰ εἰργασμένοις τὴν πόλιν πάντα τάγαθὰ 34 περὶ αὐτῶν λέγειν. τοῦτο μέντοι οὐ φεύγω, ἀλλ' ὅμολογῶ στοι, εἰ βούλει, ἀντειπεῖν. θαυμάζω δὲ τί ἄν ποτ' ἐποίησας συνειπῶν, ὅπότε ἀντειπεῖν φάσκων ἀπέκτεινας Πολέμαρχον. 195 Φέρε δή, τί ἄν, εἰ καὶ ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες ἐτυγχάνετε αὐτοῦ ἢ καὶ νέις; ἀπειθῆσθε; δεῖ γάρ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, Ἐρατοσθένη δυοῖν θάτερον ἀποδεῖξαι, ἢ ὡς οὐκ ἀπῆγαγεν αὐτόν, ἢ ὡς δικαιώς τοῦτ' ἐπραξεῖν. οὗτος δὲ ὀμολόγηκεν ἀδίκως συλλαβεῖν, ὥστε ῥᾳδίαν ὑμῖν τὴν διαιθῆφισιν περὶ 35 αὐτοῦ πεποίηκε. καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλὸς καὶ τῶν ἀστῶν καὶ τῶν ξένων ἡκουσιν εἰσόμενοι τίνα γνώμην περὶ τούτων

33. **ἀνιωμένου**: impf. in time, like **ἡδομένου**. — **τούσδε**: used of persons actually present. — **τότε**: refers to the session mentioned in §§ 6 and 26. — **ψῆφον**: see Introd. § 49. — **παρεῖναι**: the sessions of the Thirty's senate were private, unlike the practice of the democracy. — **παρ' αὐτοῖς**: *in our own homes or country*; cf. *chez nous*. The word-play in *παρεῖναι* and *παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι* cannot be expressed in English. — **αὐτοῖς**: the refl. pron. of the third person here refers to the first person, *ἡμῖν*. G. 995; H. 636.

34. **φεύγω**: *evade, contest*. Lysias cannot prove that Eratosthenes did not protest, but he grants the point only to turn to the judges and make

it an argument against him. — **ποτέ**: see on § 29. — **φάσκων**: *though you assert*. — **τι ἀντί**: on the ellipsis of the verb, cf. § 20; XXXI. 28. The force of *ἀντί* is carried over to *ἀπειθῆσθε*. See on XVI. 8. — **καὶ ἀδελφοὶ κτλ.**: the idea is 'you would not acquit a man who had made such an admission even were he your nearest kinsman.' — **νέις**: the forms with *(νεῖται etc.)* do not belong to the prose of the fifth and fourth century. See App. — **ομολόγηκεν**: in fact he had admitted (§ 25) only that the vote of the Thirty was unjust.

35. **τίνα γνώμην ἔχει**: this is to be a test case and the vote is to be a political precedent. — **μαθόντες**: *with the*

ἔξετε. ὅν οἱ μὲν ὑμέτεροι ὄντες πολῖται μαθόντες ἀπίασιν
ὅτι ἡ δίκην δώσουσιν ὅν ἔξαμάρτωσιν, ἡ, πράξαντες
μὲν ὅν ἐφίενται, τύραννοι τῆς πόλεως ἔσονται, δυστυχή-
σαντες δὲ τὸ ὕστον ὑμὸν ἔξουσιν· ὅσοι δὲ ξένοι ἐπιδημοῦσιν,
εἴσονται πότερον ἀδίκως τὸν τριάκοντα ἐκκηρύγγουσιν ἐκ
τῶν πόλεων ἡ δικαίωσ. εἰ γὰρ δὴ αὐτοὶ οἱ κακῶς πεπον-
θότες λαβόντες ἀφήσουσιν, ἡ που σφᾶς γ' αὐτοὺς ἡγή-
σονται περιέργους ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν τιμωρουμένους. οὐκ οὖν
210 δεινὸν εἴ τοὺς μὲν στρατηγούς, οἱ ἐνίκων ναυμαχοῦντες
ὅτε διὰ χειμῶνα οὐχ οἱοί τ' ἔφασαν εἶναι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς
θαλάττης ἀνελέσθαι, θανάτῳ ἐζημιώσατε, ἡγούμενοι
χρῆναι τῇ τῶν τεθνεάτων ἀρετῇ παρ' ἐκείνων δίκην λαβεῖν,
τούτους δέ, οἱ ἴδιῶται μὲν ὄντες καθ' ὅσον ἐδύναντο ἐποίη-

knowledge. — ὅν ἀν ἔξαμάρτωσιν: whatever offence they shall have committed. The time of the aor. subjv. here precedes that of δώσουσιν. GMT. 90. — ἡ πράξαντες κτλ.: the second alternative, that of escape from punishment, is subdivided, showing what, in case Eratosthenes is acquitted, will be the results of success (πράξαντες μέν) or failure (δυστυχήσαντες δέ) in future attempts at tyranny. πράξαντες here = διαπράξαντες. On δυστυχήσαντες, cf. § 98. — τὸ ίσον: 'equal rights' with good citizens; cf. § 92. — ἐκκηρύγγουσιν: the regular word used of formal banishment, cf. §§ 95, 97. Some of the Thirty may not have accompanied the majority to Eleusis. See p. 26. — ἡ που: of course; an emphatic way of beginning an apodosis, cf. vii. 8. On the form of condition, cf. § 11. — περιέργους: over-careful, taking needless trouble.

38. *εἰ: that.* G. 1424; H. 926; cf. § 88. — *εἰ, μέν, δέ: on the sequence,* cf. vii. 35. — *στρατηγούς: the commanders at Arginusae,* B.C. 406. — *ἐνίκων: were victorious.* GMT. 37; H. 827 a. — *ὅτε: since.* Logically, *ὅτε* would introduce *οἱοί τ' ήσαν*, but *ἔφασαν* is introduced to put the excuse into the mouths of the generals themselves. — *τῇ ἀρετῇ: in honour of the valour*; dat. of interest. — *τούτους: might be governed by a verb like οὐ κολάσσεσθε*, in contrast to *ἔζημιώσατε*, but after the complicated clauses which follow there is an anacoluthon (see on § 20), and *οὐ χρὴ αὐτοὺς* takes up the threads and asks a new question. — *ἴδιῶται κτλ.: as members of the political clubs whose leaders betrayed, so it is supposed, the fleet at Aegos Potami, the battle here referred to.* — *ἐποίησαν ἡττηθῆναι: is contrasted with ἐνίκων, as is δυστυχήσαντες κτλ. with διὰ χειμῶνα*

215 σαν ἡγηθῆναι ναυμαχοῦντες, ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν
κατέστησαν, ὁμολογοῦσιν ἐκόντες πολλοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν
ἀκρίτους ἀποκτινύναι, οὐκ ἄρα χρὴ αὐτοὺς καὶ τοὺς
παῖδας ὑφ' ὑμῶν ταῖς ἐσχάταις ζημίαις κολάζεσθαι;

37 Ἐγὼ τούνυν, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί, ἡξίουν ἵκανὰ εἶναι τὰ
220 κατηγορημένα· μέχρι γὰρ τούτου νομίζω χρῆναι κατη-
γορεῖν, ἔως ἂν θανάτου δόξῃ τῷ φεύγοντι ἀξιαί εἰργάσθαι·

ταύτην γὰρ ἐσχάτην δύκην δυνάμεθα παρ' αὐτῶν λαβεῖν.
ῶστ' οὐκ οἶδ'[ό τι] δεῖ πολλὰ κατηγορεῖν τοιούτων ἀνδρῶν,
οἱ οὐδὲ ἂν ὑπὲρ ἐνὸς ἔκαστου τῶν πεπραγμένων δὶς ἀπο-

38 θανόντες δύκην δοῦναι δύναιντ' ἀξίαν. οὐ γὰρ δὴ οὐδὲ
τοῦτο αὐτῷ προσήκει ποιῆσαι, ὅπερ ἐν τῷδε τῇ πόλει
εἴθισμένον ἔστι, πρὸς μὲν τὰ κατηγορούμενα μηδὲν ἀπο-
λογεῖνθαι, περὶ δὲ σφῶν αὐτῶν ἔτερα λέγοντες ἐνίστε
ἐξαπατῶσιν ὑμᾶς, ἀποδεικνύντες ὡς στρατιῶται ἀγαθοί
230 εἰσιν, ή ὡς πολλὰς τῶν πολεμίων ναῦς ἐλαβον τριηραρχή-
σαντες, ή ὡς πόλεις πολεμίας οὔσας φίλας ἐποίησαν·

... ἀνελέσθαι. — τοὺς παῖδας: the visiting of the sins of the fathers upon the children, is a commonplace in Greek.

37. Here begins the argument ξέω τοῦ πράγματος. See p. 29. — ξέω ἂν δέξῃ: until it shall appear. G. 146b; H. 921. — τῷ φεύγοντι: dat. of agent. — ταύτην: assimilated to the gender of δίκην, *this as the extreme penalty*. H. 632a; cf. vii. 23, xxiv. 10. — αὐτῶν: does not mean the Thirty but refers, in the constructio ad sensum, to the collective idea of defendants in φεύγοντι. H. 633; cf. § 58, xxii. 2, and xxxi. 3, 9. — δ τι: why. G. 1061; H. 719c. — οὐδὲ ἂν: on the position of *διν*, which belongs

to δύναιντο, cf. § 82. The verb of the prot. is ἀποθανόντες.

38. πρὸς τὰ κατηγορούμενα κτλ. : on the custom, cf. § 20, and xxvi. 3, αὐτὸν ἀκούων μὲν ὑπὲρ τῶν αὐτοῦ κατηγορουμένων διὰ βραχέων ἀπολογησεσθαι, λέξειν δὲ ὡς πολλὰ εἰς τὴν τόλιν ἀνηλάκασι. — λέγοντες ἐξαπατῶσιν: instead of ξέαπατᾶν in antithesis to ἀπολογεῖνθαι, the construction shifts to the indic. which gives an actual narrative; cf. xxii. 19. — τριηραρχήσαντες: the trierarchy, like the choregy (see on § 20) was one of the public duties performed by rich citizens; see Gow, p. 133; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 370; and Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. On Erasthenes as trierarch, cf. § 42. — φίλας

39 ἐπεὶ κελεύετε αὐτὸν ἀποδεῖξαι ὅπου τοσούτους τῶν πολεμίων ἀπέκτειναν ὅσους τῶν πολιτῶν, ἢ ναῦς ὅπου τοσαῦτας ἔλαβον ὅσας αὐτοὶ παρέδοσαν, ἢ πόλιν ἥντινα τοιαύτην

40 προσεκτήσαντο οἵαν τὴν ὑμετέραν κατεδουλώσαντο. ἀλλὰ γὰρ ὅπλα τῶν πολεμίων τοσαῦτα ἐσκύλευσαν ὅσαπερ ὑμῶν ἀφείλοντο; ἀλλὰ τείχη τοιαῦτα εἴλον οἴα τὰ τῆς ἑαυτῶν πατρίδος κατέσκαψαν; οἴτινες καὶ τὰ περὶ τὴν Ἀττικὴν φρούρια καθείλον, καὶ ὑμῖν ἐδήλωσαν ὅτι οὐδὲ 240 τὸν Πειραιᾶ Λακεδαιμονίων προστατότων περιεῖλον, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἑαυτοῖς τὴν ἀρχὴν οὕτω βεβαιοτέραν ἐνόμιζον εἶναι.

41 Πολλάκις οὖν ἔθαύμασα τῆς τόλμης τῶν λεγόντων ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ, πλὴν ὅταν ἐνθυμηθῶ ὅτι τῶν αὐτῶν ἔστιν αὐτούς τε πάντα τὰ κακὰ ἐργάζεσθαι καὶ τὸν τοιούτους ἐπαινεῖν.

42 οὐ γὰρ νῦν πρῶτον τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει τάνατία ἐπράξεν,

ἴποιησαν: *cf.* Isoeogr. xvi. 21, πόλεις . . . λόγῳ πείσας φίλας ὑμῖν ἐποίησε.

39. ἐπεὶ: states the reason for οὐ προσήκει above. — κελεύετε: on the inv. thus used, *cf.* Dem. xxxix. 32, ἐπεὶ σὺ δεῖξον δοτις Ἀθηναῖον κτλ. — σούς τῶν πολιτῶν: for the number slain, see on § 17. — παρέδοσαν: *sc.* at the surrender of Athens to Sparta.

40. ἀλλὰ γάρ: often used in an abrupt question, *cf.* § 83; the γάρ, of course, is not translatable. ἀλλὰ is used also without γάρ, xxiv. 24. — ἀφείλοντο: *cf.* § 95. The Thirty disarmed all who were not in the catalogue of the Three Thousand; *cf.* Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 37. 2, ἀναιρεθέντος δὲ Θηραμένους τὰ δηλα παρεῖλοντο τάντων πλὴν τῶν τρισχιλίων. *Cf.* Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 20 ff., who sets the disarming before the death of Thera- menes. On the gen. ὑμῶν, *cf.* xxiv.

13, and see G. 1118; H. 748 a. — οἴτινες: used scornfully, 'why they,' *cf.* § 5, § 65, and xxxii. 13, 20. — φρούρια: the facts are not known. The object of the Thirty was to make Attica an unfortified country. — τὸν Πειραιᾶ: see on § 70. — περιεῖλον: dismantled.

41. πολλάκις θαύμασα: see on § 3; hence the subjv. ἐνθυμηθῶ, not the opt. G. 1268. — τῶν λεγόντων: does not refer to their defenders in court (*συνήγαροι*, *cf.* § 86, and p. 29), but to their supporters in general. — τῶν αὐτῶν: pred. gen. denoting nature. H. 732 c. — τοὺς τοιούτους: i.e. those who are, like them, *κακοί*.

42. οὐ γάρ: 'and he is *κακός*, for this is not the first time,' etc. — τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει: a common phrase for the democracy, *cf.* § 43, and xxiv. 25, xxxi. 15. — τάνατία ἐπράξεν:

ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων ἐν τῷ στρατοπέδῳ ὀλιγαρχίαν καθιστὰς ἔφευγεν ἐξ Ἑλλησπόντου τριήραρχος καταλιπὼν τὴν ναῦν, μετὰ Ἰατροκλέους καὶ ἑτέρων, ὃν τὰ ὄνοματα οὐδὲν δέομαι λέγειν. ἀφικόμενος δὲ δεῦρο τάναντία τοῖς βουλομένοις δημοκρατίαν εἶναι ἐπραττε. καὶ τούτων μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

48 Τὸν μὲν τοίνυν μεταξὺ βίον αὐτοῦ παρήσω· ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἡ ναυμαχία καὶ ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἐγένετο, δημοκρατίας ἔτι οὖσης, δθεν τῆς στάσεως ἥρξαν, πέντε ἄνδρες ἔφοροι 255 κατέστησαν ὑπὸ τῶν καλουμένων ἑταίρων, συναγωγεῖς μὲν τῶν πολιτῶν, ἄρχοντες δὲ τῶν συνωμοτῶν, ἐναντία δὲ τῷ

'worked against,' cf. § 64. — *ἐπὶ τῶν τετρακοσίων*: not to be taken literally, but as applying to a time just before the Four Hundred were actually established. While the oligarchical intrigues were going on in the army and fleet at Samos (Thuc. viii. 47 ff.), the like work was being done in other places dependent on Athens (Thuc. viii. 64); and Eratosthenes probably engaged in it on the Hellespont. Unsuccessful there, he deserted his ship and joined the oligarchs in Athens itself. — *καθιστάς*: impf. partic., cf. § 49, xxiv. 7; here of attempted action. G. 1255; H. 832. — *Ἰατροκλέους*: otherwise unknown.

48. *μεταξύ*: i.e. between the time of the Four Hundred (B.C. 412-11) and Aegos Potami (405). — *παρήσω*: had Lysias known of anything to Eratosthenes's discredit, we should probably learn of it here; see p. 24, and on xxxi. 20. — *ἡ ναυμαχία*

κτλ.: the accepted phrase for these events. The orators were careful how they reminded the people of their misfortunes; cf. xxxi. 8. — *δθεν . . . ἥρξαν*: the antecedent of this clause is the next clause which in English would precede; cf. Isaeus vi. 8, *ως δ' ἔξδη αὐτῷ ταῦτη ἐπράξεν, δθεν δικαιωτατα ἥργοιμαι τὰ τοιαῦτα εἶναι μαρθάνειν, τοῦτον ὑμᾶν αὐτὸν παρέξομαι τὸν νόμον*. — *ἔφοροι*: these men, chosen after the battle but before the surrender of Athens (cf. § 44 f.; Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, III, p. 563), were not constitutional officers, but were selected merely by the oligarchical clubs (*ἑταρεῖαι*, cf. *ἑταρπων*) to be the directors of their revolutionary movement. Their title, after that of the Spartan ephors, is significant. — *κατέστησαν*: in effect a passive, hence *ἐπό*. — *συνωμοτῶν*: cf. coniurati, and on their oaths of secrecy, cf. §§ 47 and 77.

ύμετέρῳ πλήθει πράττοντες· ὡν Ἐρατοσθένης καὶ Κριτίας
 44 ἥσαν. οὗτοι δὲ φυλάρχους τε ἐπὶ τὰς φυλὰς κατέστησαν,
 καὶ ὃ τι δέοι χειροτονεῖσθαι καὶ οὐστινας χρείᾳ ἄρχειν
 260 παρήγγελλον, καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο πράττειν βούλοντο κύριοι
 ἥσαν· οὕτως οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑπὸ²
 τούτων πολιτῶν ὄντων ἐπεβούλευεσθε, ὅπως μήτ' ἀγαθὸν
 45 μηδὲν ψηφιεῖσθε πολλῶν τε ἐνδεεῖς ἔσεσθε. τοῦτο γὰρ
 καλῶς ἡπίσταντο, ὅτι ἄλλως μὲν οὐχ οἷοί τε ἔσονται περι-
 285 γενέσθαι, κακῶς δὲ πραττόντων δυνήσονται· καὶ ὑμᾶς
 ἥγουντο τῶν παρόντων κακῶν ἐπιθυμοῦντας ἀπαλλαγῆναι
 46 περὶ τῶν μελλόντων οὐκ ἐνθυμήσεσθαι. ὡς τούνν τῶν
 ἐφόρων ἐγένετο, μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι, οὐ τοὺς τότε
 συμπράττοντας (οὐ γὰρ ἀν δυναίμην), ἀλλὰ τοὺς αὐτοῦ
 47 Ἐρατοσθένους ἀκούσαντας. καίτοι κάκεινοι εἰ ἐσωφρό-
 νουν, κατεμαρτύρουν ἀν αὐτῶν καὶ τοὺς διδασκάλους τῶν
 σφετέρων ἀμαρτημάτων σφόδρ' ἀν ἐκόλαζον, καὶ τοὺς
 δρκους, εἰ ἐσωφρόνουν, οὐκ ἀν ἐπὶ μὲν τοῦς τῶν πολιτῶν
 κακοῖς πιστοὺς ἐνόμιζον, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς τῆς πόλεως ἀγαθοῖς

44. **φυλάρχους**: not the cavalry officers of xvi. 6, but men selected, one in each φυλή, to 'work' under the ephors, who managed the political 'machine.' See App. — ἐπι: on this use, cf. xxviii. 14, οἱ μὲν γάρ ἐπὶ τοῦτ' ἔχειροντιθησαν, οὐα κτλ. — ἄρχειν: to hold the offices. — παρήγγελλον: they passed the word; really a military term, but here used as in § 76, where the working of this 'machine' is illustrated. — δπως... ψηφιεῖσθε: object clause. G. 1372; H. 885. See App. — πολλῶν: sc. ἀγαθῶν. The chief reference is to the necessities of life, lacking during the siege.

45. **πραττόντων**: sc. ὑμῶν. Cf. § 64, and on the omission, see G. 1568; H. 972 a.

46. οὐ γάρ κτλ.: their oaths (§ 47) would prevent them from testifying.

47. κάκεινοι: refers to τοὺς συμπράττοντας. — αὐτῶν: i.e. their leaders. — τοὺς δρκους: as the following οὐκ refers to both the μέν and the δέ clause succeeding, a different oath is meant in each case; in the first, the oath sworn as a member of a ἑταιρεῖα (cf. on § 43); in the second the oath of allegiance taken when a young man came of age. — ἐπι: in the case of, 'where it is a question of.' Cf. Isocr. xviii. 24, καίτοι δειδὸν

275 ράδίως παρέβαινον. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τούτους τοσαῦτα λέγω,
τοὺς δὲ μάρτυράς μοι κάλει. καὶ ὑμεῖς ἀνάβητε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

48 Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε. τὸ δὲ τελευταῖον εἰς τὴν
ἀρχὴν καταστὰς ἀγαθὸν μὲν οὐδενὸς μετέσχεν, ἀλλαν δὲ
πολλῶν. καίτοι εἰπερ ἦν ἀνὴρ ἀγαθός, ἔχρην ἀν πρῶτον
280 μὲν μὴ παρανόμως ἄρχειν, ἐπειτα τῇ βουλῇ μηνυτὴν
γίγνεσθαι περὶ τῶν εἰσαγγελιῶν ἀπασῶν, ὅτι ψευδεῖς εἶεν,
καὶ Βάτραχος καὶ Αἰσχυλίδης οὐ τάληθῆ μηνύουσιν, ἀλλὰ
τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα πλασθέντα εἰσαγγέλλουσι, συγκεί-
49 μενα ἐπὶ τῇ τῶν πολιτῶν βλάβῃ. καὶ μὲν δή, ὡς ἄνδρες
285 δικασταί, ὅσοι κακόνοι ἦσαν τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει, οὐδὲν
ἔλαττον εἶχον σιωπῶντες· ἔτεροι γὰρ ἦσαν οἱ λέγοντες
καὶ πράττοντες ὡν οὐχ οἶόν τ' ἦν μείζω κακὰ γενέσθαι τῇ
πόλει. ὅποσοι δ' εὗνοι φασιν εἶναι, πῶς οὐκ ἐνταῦθα
ἔδειξαν, αὐτοὶ τε τὰ βέλτιστα λέγοντες καὶ τοὺς ἔξαμαρτά-

ει ἐπὶ μὲν τοὺς ὑμετέρους αὐτῶν πράγμασιν
ἐμμένετε τοῖς δρκοῖς, ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ τούτου
συκοφαγτὶ παραβάνειν ἐπιχειρήσατε. —
παρέβαινον: the force of *ἀν* continues;
see on xvi. 8. — κάλα: addressed to
the κῆρυξ, 'crier'; cf. xxxi. 16.

48. ἀρχήν: sc. τὴν τῶν τριάκοντα,
for the ephors were not magistrates.
— ἀλλων: ironical for κακῶν. — ἔχρην
δν: 'he would have had.' See on § 32,
and for the use of *ἀν* here, cf. vii. 22,
and see G. 1401; H. 897 a. See
App. — τῇ βουλῇ: under the Thirty
the oligarchical senate took the place
of the democratic Heliastic courts.
— μηνυτὴν: see on § 32. — εἰεν and
μηνύουσιν: on the change of mood
(GMT. 670), cf. Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1. 3,
οὗτοι ἔλεγον δτι Κύρος μὲν τέθηκεν,

Ἄριασος δὲ πεφευγὼς εἴη. — Βάτραχος:
he is called in [Lys.] vi. 45, ὁ πάντων
πονηρότατος, γενύμενος ἐπὶ τῶν τριά-
κοντα μηνυτῆς, where μηνυτῆς has its
usual infamous sense. Among the
lost orations of Lysias was one ὑπὲρ
τοῦ Βατράχου φύνον (Harp. s.v. φτηγό-
σιν), possibly written on the death
of this same man. Nothing further
is known of Aeschylides. — συγκεί-
μενα: concocted; cf. iii. 26, πάντα αἰτῷ
ταῦτα σύγκειται καὶ μεμηχάνηται.

49. καὶ μὲν δή: see on § 30. —
οὐδὲν θλαττὸν εἶχον: were none the
worse off, 'lost nothing.' See on
xxxii. 1. — ὁν: the antecedent is
the omitted obj. of πράττοντες, the
gen. depends on the comparative. —
πῶς: 'how was it that?' — ἔξαμαρ-

50 νοντας ἀποτρέποντες; ἵσως δ' ἀν ἔχοι εἰπεῖν ὅτι ἐδεδοίκει,
καὶ ὑμῶν τοῦτο ἐνίοις ἵκανὸν ἔσται. ὅπως τοίνυν μὴ
φανήσεται ἐν τῷ λόγῳ τοῖς τριάκοντα ἐναντιούμενος· εἰ
δὲ μῆ, ἐνταυθῷ δῆλος ἔσται ὅτι ἐκεῖνά τ' αὐτῷ ἡρεσκε καὶ
τοσοῦτον ἐδύνατο ὡστε ἐναντιούμενος μηδὲν κακὸν παθεῖν
295 ὑπ' αὐτῶν. χρῆν δ' αὐτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς ὑμετέρας σωτηρίας
ταύτην τὴν προθυμίαν ἔχειν, ἀλλὰ μὴ ὑπὲρ Θηραμένους,
51 ὃς εἰς ὑμᾶς πολλὰ ἔξημαρτεν. ἀλλ' οὗτος τὴν μὲν πόλιν
ἔχθραν ἐνόμιζεν εἶναι, τοὺς δ' ὑμετέρους ἔχθροὺς φίλους,
ώς ἀμφότερα ταῦτα ἐγὼ πολλοῖς τεκμηρίοις παραστήσω,
300 καὶ τὰς πρὸς ἀλλήλους διαφορὰς οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀλλ'
ὑπὲρ ἑαυτῶν γυγνομένας, ὅπότεροι μόνοι ταῦτα πράξουσι
52 καὶ τῆς πόλεως ἄρξουσι. εἰ γὰρ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδικουμένων
ἔστασίαζον, ποῦ κάλλιον ἦν ἀνδρὶ ἄρχοντι ἡ Θρασύ-
τάνοντας: for its time, see on καθι-
στάς, § 42.

50. ἐδεδοίκει: *was afraid*, and so was silent on occasions when he should have spoken; cf. §§ 48 and 49. — δῆλος φανήσεται: on this Attic colloquial use of the fut. indic. (G. 1352; H. 886; GMT. 271 ff.), cf. 1. 21, quoted below. The thought is: 'He will say that he was afraid. But then he must be careful not to let it appear that he ever opposed (*ἐναντιούμενος* is impf., see on *ἔχοντες*, xvi. 5) the Thirty; otherwise (that is, if he ever *did* oppose them) it will be clear that he was not in fear of them, and that he opposed them whenever he wished, and was silent only when he agreed with them.' — ἐν τῷ λόγῳ: 'anywhere in discussion.' — εἰ δὲ μῆ: *otherwise*. The phrase is used in Greek even when the clause would not be negative if completed. G. 1417;

H. 906 b; cf. 1. 21, δῆλος τοίνυν ταῦτα μηδὲς ἀνθρώπων τείνεται· εἰ δὲ μῆ (i.e. if *anybody does hear of it*), οὐδέν σοι κύριον ἔσται. — δῆλος ἔσται δῆτι: for the personal use, see on xxxi. 6. — ἐναντιούμενος: concessive.

51. ἀμφότερα: i.e. that the state was his enemy and that your foes were his friends. The orator proposes to establish (*παραστήσω*) these facts καὶ τὰς διαφορὰς . . . γυγνομένας, 'and that their dissensions were arising.' The change here from the dir. obj. to the partic. in indir. disc. is so harsh that it is probable that after *καὶ* some word like *ἀποδειξω* has fallen out. See App. — δητότεροι: i.e. the advanced oligarchs under Critias or the moderates under Theramenes. — ταῦτα: used of something well understood, here the plans of the oligarchs; cf. ταῦτ' ἔπραττεν, § 65.

52. κάλλιον ἦν: see on *χρῆν*, § 32.

βούλου Φυλὴν κατειληφότος, τότε ἐπιδείξασθαι τὴν αὐτοῦ
305 εὗνοιαν; ὁ δ' ἀγτὶ τοῦ ἐπαγγείλασθαι τι ἡ πρᾶξαι ἀγαθὸν
πρὸς τοὺς ἐπὶ Φυλῆ, ἐλθὼν μετὰ τῶν συναρχόντων εἰς
Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Ἐλευσῖνάδε τριακοσίους τῶν πολιτῶν ἀπή-
γαγεν εἰς τὸ δεσμωτήριον καὶ μιᾷ ψήφῳ αὐτῶν ἀπάντων
53 θάνατον κατεψήφισατο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ ἥλθομεν
310 καὶ αἱ ταραχαὶ γεγενημέναι ἥσαν καὶ περὶ τῶν διαλλαγῶν
οἱ λόγοι ἐγίγνοντο, πολλὰς ἐκάτεροι ἐλπίδας εἰχομεν πρὸς
ἀλλήλους ἔσεσθαι ὡς ἀμφότεροι ἐδείξαμεν. οἱ μὲν γὰρ
54 ἐκ Πειραιῶς κρείτους ὄντες εἴασαν αὐτοὺς ἀπελθεῖν· οἱ
δὲ εἰς τὸ ἄστυ ἐλθόντες τοὺς μὲν τριάκοντα ἐξέβαλον πλὴν

— τὸν ἐπὶ Φυλῆ: ἐπὶ is used, not ἐν, because the fort of Phyle lay high up in the pass on Mount Parnes. See App.—Σαλαμῖνα καὶ Ἐλευσῖνάδε: by the wholesale slaughter of the citizens of Salamis (cf. xiii. 44; Diod. xiv. 32) and Eleusis (Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 8 ff.) the Thirty cleared these places in order to use them as refuges in case of need.—μιᾷ ψήφῳ: illegal, as being contrary to the common procedure which provided that, when several parties were accused, a separate vote should be taken on each; cf. Xen. *Hellen.* i. 7. 34; Plat. *Apol.* 32 B. On the trial, see Curtius, *Hist. of Greece*, III, p. 540 ff.

53. ἥλθομεν: observe how Lysias here and in other speeches (e.g. xxiv. 25) constantly takes it for granted that all his hearers belonged to the patriotic party. Yet among them and even among the present judges may have been members of the Three Thousand. So in the preceding section he speaks as if the Three Thousand had had nothing to do with

the condemnation of the Eleusinians; but see Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 9 ff.—

— ταραχαὶ: *disturbances*, a purposely mild word used of the battle between Athenian citizens.—διαλλαγῶν: the standing word for the reconciliation brought about by Pausanias.—λόγοι: *negotiations*. — πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔσε-
σθαι ὡς: the expression is unusually condensed: ‘that we should be in our relations to each other (*τρόπος* as in § 23) as we both showed ourselves.’ It is clear that some idea like ‘forgetting and forgiving’ is understood.—αὐτούς: the party of the city is meant, but this is a strange use of *αὐτός*. See App.

54. ἀθόντες: *when they had returned*; see on xvi. 4.—τὸν τριάκοντα ἐξέβα-
λον: an exaggerated statement, the truth being that the Thirty were merely deposed. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 23, ἐψηφίσαντο (sc. οἱ τρισχίλοι) ἐκείνους μὲν (the Thirty) καταπαῦσαι, ἄλλους δὲ ἐλέσθαι, and Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38, τὸν μὲν τριάκοντα κατέλυσαν, αἰροῦνται δὲ δέκα τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοκράτορας ἐπὶ

315 Φείδωνος καὶ Ἐρατοσθένους, ἄρχοντας δὲ τοὺς ἐκείνους
ἐχθίστους εἶλοντο, ἡγούμενοι δικαίως ἀν ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν
τούς τε τριάκοντα μισεῖσθαι καὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ φιλεῖσθαι.
55 τούτων τοίνυν Φείδων γενόμενος καὶ Ἰπποκλῆς καὶ Ἐπι-
χάρης ὁ Λαμπτρεὺς καὶ ἔτεροι οἱ δοκοῦντες εἶναι ἐναντιώ-
320 τατοι Χαρικλεῖ καὶ Κριτίᾳ καὶ τῇ ἐκείνων ἐταιρείᾳ, ἐπειδὴ
αὐτοὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν κατέστησαν, πολὺ μείζω στάσιν καὶ
πόλεμον ἐπὶ τοὺς ἐν Πειραιεῖ τοῖς ἐξ ἀστεως ἐποίησαν.
56 φ καὶ φανερῶς ἐπεδείξαντο ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐν Πειραιεῖ
οὐδ' ὑπὲρ τῶν ἀδίκως ἀπολλυμένων ἐστασίαζον, οὐδ' οἱ
325 τεθνεώτες αὐτοὺς ἐλύπουν οὐδ' οἱ μέλλοντες ἀποθανεῖσθαι,
57 ἀλλ' οἱ μεῖζον δυνάμενοι καὶ θάττον πλουτοῦντες. λαβόν-
τες γὰρ τὰς ἀρχὰς καὶ τὴν πόλιν ἀμφοτέροις ἐπολέμουν,
τοὺς τε τριάκοντα πάντα κακὰ εἰργασμένοις καὶ ὑμῖν

τὴν τοῦ πολέμου κατάλυσιν. The ma-
jority of the Thirty then withdrew
to Eleusis. — **ἄρχοντας**: the Ten
just mentioned in the quotation
from Aristotle; so Xen. *ibid.* 24,
καὶ εἴλοντο δέκα, ἔνα ἀπὸ φυλῆς. —
ἐκείνους: i.e. to the Thirty as a gov-
ernment. Eratosthenes and Phidion
clearly belonged to a more moderate
set than Critias and Charicles. Hav-
ing coupled them together, Lysias
goes on to show that Phidion (and
by inference Eratosthenes) was not a
true patriot, else he would have been
true to the purpose for which he was
elected, namely to reconcile the
parties (cf. § 58).

55. **τούτων**: i.e. the Ten. — **γενό-
μενος**: on the number, see on § 12.
— **Ἰπποκλῆς**: unknown, unless he
be the naval officer of Thuc. viii. 13.
— **Δαμπτρεὺς**: Lamptrae was a deme
of the tribe Erechtheis. — **ἴναντιάτα-**

τοι: Epichares, however, was a
senator under the Thirty; so Andoc.
i. 95, who in § 99 calls him their tool
and a sycophant. — **Χαρικλεῖ**: he with
Critias was chief of the advanced
oligarchs; cf. Arist. *Pol.* 1305 B, 25,
ἐν τοῖς τριάκοντα οἱ περὶ Χαρικλέα ἴσχυ-
σαν τοὺς τριάκοντα δημαγωγοῦντες. —
ἐταιρείᾳ: see on § 43. — **αὐτοὶ**: em-
phatic: ‘they in their turn.’ —
πολὺ . . . ἐτοίμασαν: on the facts, cf.
Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 24 ff.; Arist. *Resp.*
Ath. 38.

57. **λαβόντες**: *taking possession of*;
the usual word of legal succession to
an office would be **ταραλαβόντες**,
which indeed is used of these very
Ten by Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38. — **τοῖς**
τε τριάκοντα: there is nothing in Xen.
to suggest actual hostilities between
the Ten and the Thirty. Both sent
to Sparta for help against Thrasy-
bulus, *Hellen.* ii. 4. 28. But it is

πάντα κακὰ πεπονθόσι. καίτοι τοῦτο πᾶσι δῆλον ἦν, ὅτι
 330 εἰ μὲν ἐκεῖνοι δικαίως ἔφευγον, ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς
 δικαίως, οἱ τριάκοντα ἀδίκως· οὐ γὰρ δὴ ἐτέρων ἔργων
 αἰτίαν λαβόντες ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐξέπεσον, ἀλλὰ τούτων.
 58 ὥστε σφόδρα χρὴ ὀργίζεσθαι, ὅτι Φείδων αἰρεθεὶς ὑμᾶς
 διαλλάξαι καὶ καταγαγεῖν τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων Ἐρατοσθένει
 335 μετεῖχε καὶ τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ τοὺς μὲν κρείττους αὐτῶν δὶ'
 ὑμᾶς κακῶς ποιεῦν ἔτοιμος ἦν, ὑμῶν δὲ ἀδίκως φεύγοντιν
 οὐκ ἡθέλησεν ἀποδοῦναι τὴν πόλιν, ἀλλ' ἐλθὼν εἰς Λακε-
 δαίμονα ἐπειθεν αὐτοὺς στρατεύεσθαι, διαβάλλων ὅτι
 Βοιωτῶν ἡ πόλις ἔσται, καὶ ἄλλα λέγων οἷς φέτο πείσειν
 59 μάλιστα. οὐ δυνάμενος δὲ τούτων τυχεῖν, εἴτε καὶ τῶν
 ἱερῶν ἐμποδὼν δύτων εἴτε καὶ αὐτῶν οὐ βουλομένων,
 ἑκατὸν τάλαντα ἔδανείσατο, ἵνα ἔχοι ἐπικούρους μισθοῦ-

clear that the Ten held a middle ground. — *ἔφευγον*: *were in exile*, the pres. approaching the sense of the perf. in this sense. G.M.T. 27 and 37. — *αἰτίαν λαβόντες*: instead of the usual *αἰτίαν ἔχοντες*, cf. xxii. 18. — *ἔβαλσον*: used as pass. of *ἔβαλων*. G. 1241; H. 820.

58. *αἰρεθεὶς ὑμᾶς διαλλάξαι κτλ.*: cf. § 55 and Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38 (quoted on § 54), who adds *οἱ δὲ παρα-λαβόντες τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐφ' οἷς μὲν ἡρέθησαν οὐκ ἐπραγτον, ἐπρέσβευσαν δὲ εἰς Λακεδαίμονα βοήθειαν μεταπεμπόμενοι καὶ χρήματα δανειζόμενοι.* — *τῇ αὐτῇ γνώμῃ*: sc. Ἐρατοσθένει. Lysias's object in thus bringing forward Phidion is twofold; to show that Phidion and Eratosthenes were hand and glove, both equally opposed to the patriots, and also to prevent Phidion from pointing to any merits of his own

when appearing as *συνήγορος* (see Introd. § 36) for Eratosthenes. — *τοὺς κρείττους αὐτῶν*: the main body of the Thirty, then in Eleusis. — *δι' ὑμᾶς*: *through your means*; cf. § 60 and vii. 5. — *οὐκ ἡθέλησεν*: 'he could not bring himself,' cf. xxxi. 1; but below in § 69 it means as usual *he refused*. Cf. vii. 35; xxxii. 12. — *ἐπειθεν*: of attempted action. G. 1255; H. 832. — *αὐτούς*: for the number, see on *αὐτῶν*, § 37. — *Βοιωτῶν κτλ.*: this would excite Spartan jealousy, and it was a credible story, for Thrasybulus had set out from Thebes to seize Phyle, with the collusion of the Thebans (Diod. xiv. 32). See on § 95.

59. *ἱερῶν ἐμποδὼν δύτων*: this recalls the well-known reason for the Spartans' refusal to aid the Athenians promptly at Marathon. Cf. Hdt. vi. 106.

σθαι, καὶ Λύσανδρον ἄρχοντα γέγοντα, εὐνούστατον μὲν ὄντα τῇ ὀλιγαρχίᾳ, κακονούστατον δὲ τῇ πόλει, μισοῦντα 80 δὲ μάλιστα τοὺς ἐν Πειραιῇ. μισθωσάμενοι δὲ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐπ' ὀλέθρῳ τῆς πόλεως καὶ ὀλας πόλεις ἐπάγοντες καὶ τελευτῶντες Λακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων ὅπόσους ἐδύναντο πεῖσαι, οὐ διαλλάξαι ἀλλ' ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν, εἰ μὴ δι' ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς, οἵς 81 οὐδεὶς δηλώσατε παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρων δύκην λαβόντες, ὅτι καὶ ἐκείνοις χάριν ἀποδώσετε. ταῦτα δὲ ἐπίστασθε μὲν καὶ αὐτοί, καὶ οὐδὲ ὅτι οὐδὲ μάρτυρας παρασχέσθαι· ὅμως δέ· ἐγώ τε γὰρ δέομαι ἀναπαύσασθαι, ὑμῶν τ' ἐνίοις ἥδιον ὡς πλεύστων τοὺς αὐτοὺς λόγους ἀκούειν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

62 Φέρε δὴ καὶ περὶ Θηραμένους ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι διὰ

60. τάντας ἀνθρώπους: on the meaning, without the article, see on XVI. 15, and cf. Dem. VIII. 5, Φιλιππος συσκευάζεται τάντας ἀνθρώπους ἐφ' ἡμάς. — ὄλας τόλαις: an effective exaggeration, hardly supported by the facts. See App. — τελευτῶντες: the partic. as adv.; cf. XXXII. II, 12. G. 1564; H. 968 a. — εἰ μὴ διά: means 'had it not been for.' G. 1414; H. 905 a, 2; GMT. 476, 3. Cf. Isocr. v. 92, φαίνονται γὰρ κάκεινοι κρατήσαντες ἀν τῶν βασιλέων πραγμάτων, εἰ μὴ διά Κῦρον. Gildersleeve, A. J. P. XVI, p. 396, explains the ellipsis as that of the negative involved in the leading clause. Thus, εἰ μὴ διά = εἰ μὴ οὐκ ἀπώλεσαν, unless they had failed to destroy. For the apod. without δι., see on ἐγίγνετο, VII. 13; ξμελλε, VII. 24. — ἄνδρας ἀγαθούς: both avowed

and secret friends of Athens are meant, as in Argos, Thebes, Corinth, and elsewhere, including all who were jealous of Lysander. The patriotic party is of course included, and perhaps that of the second Ten. — οὐ δηλώσατε: on this idiomatic use of the rel. with imv., cf. § 99. Translate by must.

61. δημος δέ: sc. παρέχομαι. — πλεστον: on the gen. of the person, see G. 1103; H. 742 c.

62. φέρε δή: come now, a phrase frequently prefixed to the subjv. of exhortation. G. 1345. — Θηραμένους: Eratosthenes, himself a moderate oligarch, would naturally class himself with Theramenes, the victim of Critias and a martyr, in popular esteem, to the good cause. Lysias must therefore paint Theramenes in

βραχυτάτων διδάξω. δέομαι δ' ὑμῶν ἀκοῦσαι ὑπέρ τ' ἔμαυτοῦ καὶ τῆς πόλεως. καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο παραστῆ ὡς Ἐρατοσθένους κινδυνεύοντος Θηραμένους κατηγορῶ· πυνθάνομαι γὰρ ταῦτα ἀπολογήσεσθαι αὐτὸν ὅτι ἐκείνῳ 63 φίλος ἦν καὶ τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων μετεῖχε. καίτοι σφόδρ' ἀν αὐτὸν οἶμαι μετὰ Θεμιστοκλέους πολιτευόμενον προσ ποιεῖσθαι πράττειν ὅπως οἰκοδομηθήσεται τὰ τείχη, ὅπότε καὶ μετὰ Θηραμένους ὅπως καθαιρεθήσεται. οὐ γάρ μοι δοκοῦσιν ἵστον ἄξιοι γεγενῆσθαι· ὁ μὲν γὰρ Λακεδαιμο- 365 νίων ἀκόντων ὠκοδόμησεν αὐτά, οὗτος δὲ τοὺς πολίτας 64 ἔξαπατήσας καθεῖλε. περιέστηκεν οὖν τῇ πόλει τούναν τίον ἡ ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν. ἄξιον μὲν γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοὺς φίλους τοὺς Θηραμένους προσαπολωλέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις ἐτύγχανεν

the darkest colours, to show the people that they did not know their idol; hence what follows must be taken with a good deal of salt. See App. — *τέ*: on its position, cf. § 30. — *παραστῆ* . . . *κατηγορῶ*: 'let nobody fancy that my speech is directed against Theramenes, although Eratosthenes is the man who is on trial.' Cf. Dem. xviii. 15, *εἴτε κατηγορεῖ μὲν ἔμοι, κρίνει* (*he brings to trial*) *δὲ τούτοις*. Lysias anticipates that he will be charged by the other side with leaving the real question which is at issue. See App. For *παραστῆ* in this sense, cf. vii. 17. — *κινδυνεύοντος*: this verb is often used of defendants.

63. *καίτοι σφόδρα* . . . *γεγενῆσθαι*: spoken with sneering irony, and made more bitter by *σφόδρα*, to which emphatic word *ἄν* is attached. 'He says he acted with Theramenes. Of course, then, if he had been in the government along with Themistocles

he would pretend, I suppose, that he joined him in building the walls, since he joined even (observe the *καὶ* after *ἄντε*, cf. xxii. 16) a person like Theramenes in pulling them down. Of course he would, for Themistocles and Theramenes were men of very different metal' (the inference being that, as Themistocles was the better, Eratosthenes would have urged that he did even more to help him than to help Theramenes). The litotes in *οὐκ ἴστον ἄξιοι* and the scoffing tone in *μοι δοκοῦσιν* should be noted. — *ἴκα πατήσας*: for the facts, cf. § 68 ff.

64. *περιέστηκεν*: *has come about*. Cf. Thuc. vi. 24. 2, *τούραντον περιέστη αὐτῷ*. — *εἰκός ἦν*: 'might have been expected'; on the omission of *Δ*, here and with *ἄξιον ἦν*, see on § 32. — *πλὴν εἴ*: *unless*, where *πλὴν* represents the apodosis. GMT. 477; cf. Plat. *Apol.* 18 C, *οὐδὲ τὰ ὄντα ποτε αὐτῶν εἰδέναι, πλὴν εἴ τις κωμῳδιοτοῦς τυγχά-*

ἐκείνῳ τάνατία πράττων· νῦν δὲ ὅρῳ τάς τε ἀπολογίας
 370 εἰς ἐκείνον ἀναφερομένας τούς τ' ἐκείνῳ συνόντας τιμᾶσθαι
 πειρωμένους, ὡσπερ πολλῶν ἀγαθῶν αἰτίου ἀλλ' οὐ
 380 μεγάλων κακῶν γεγενημένου. ὃς πρῶτον μὲν τῆς προτέρας
 ὀλιγαρχίας αἰτιώτατος ἐγένετο, πείσας ὑμᾶς τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν
 τετρακοσίων πολιτείαν ἐλέσθαι. καὶ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ αὐτοῦ
 390 προβούλων ὡν ταῦτ' ἐπραττεν, αὐτὸς δὲ δοκῶν εὐνού-
 στατος εἶναι τοῖς πράγμασι στρατηγὸς ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἥρεθη.
 400 καὶ ἔως μὲν ἐτιμάτο, πιστὸν ἔαυτὸν παρεῖχεν· ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 Πείσανδρον μὲν καὶ Κάλλαισχρον καὶ ἐτέρους ἔώρα
 προτέρους αὐτοῦ γιγνομένους, τὸ δὲ ὑμέτερον πλῆθος οὐκέτι
 410 βουλόμενον τούτων ἀκροάσθαι, τότ' ἥδη διά τε τὸν πρὸς

τει ὥν. — τάνατία πράττων: cf. § 42.
 The aor. partic. could not have been
 used; see on § 27. — γεγενημένου: sc.
 αὐτοῦ. See on § 45.

65. **68:** for the meaning, see on
oltrives, § 40. — **αἰτιώτατος:** an ex-
 ageration. The orator Antiphon (see
 Introd. § 14) was the real author of
 the scheme according to Thucydides
 (viii. 68), who, however, mentions
 with him Pisander and Theramenes
 as the chief leaders in the establish-
 ment of the Four Hundred; so Arist.
Resp. Ath. 32. In xxv. 9 Lysias men-
 tions Phrynicus and Pisander (and in
 xiii. 73 only Phrynicus), as the found-
 ers of the Four Hundred. In Xen.
Hellen. ii. 3. 30, Critias says: οὐτος
 (Theramenes) κατὰ τὸν πατέρα Ἀγνωτα
 (taking pattern by his father Hagnon)
 πρωτεστατος (most headlong) ἐγένετο
 τὴν δημοκρατίαν μεταστῆσαι εἰς τοὺς
 τετρακοσίους. — **προβούλων:** ‘com-
 missioners.’ They were at first ten.
 Afterwards, with the twenty συγγρα-
 φεις (Thuc. viii. 1. 3; 67. 1; Arist.

Resp. Ath. 29), they matured the
 measures which led to the election
 of the Four Hundred. — **τάντα:** for
 the meaning, see on § 51. — **τοῖς πράγμασι:** i.e. the government of the
 Four Hundred. — **ὑπ' αὐτῶν:** for the
 facts, see App.

66. **πιστόν:** *loyal*, sc. to the Four
 Hundred. — **ἐπιεῖδη κτλ.:** fear and
 jealousy, according to Lysias, were
 the only motives influencing Theramenes,
 and this is also the view of
 Thucydides (viii. 89). But he adds
 that the pretext for assailing the
 Four Hundred was that the Five
 Thousand were a name, not a reality.
 This ‘pretext’ is made the sole
 reason for Theramenes’s action in
 Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 33, *αἰτιώτατοι δ' ἐγένετο τῆς καταλύσεως* (sc. of the Four
 Hundred) ‘Δρυστοκράτης καὶ Θηραμέ-
 νης, οὐ συναρεσκόμενοι τοῖς ὑπὸ τῶν
 τετρακοσίων γιγνομένοις.’ Διατάγα γὰρ
 δι' αὐτῶν ἐπραττον, οὐδὲν ἐπαναφέροντες
 τοῖς πεντακισχιλοῖς. — **τότ' ἥδη:** *tum
 demum, then, and not till then.*

έκείνους φθόνον καὶ τὸ παρ' ὑμῶν δέος μετέσχε τῶν
 67 Ἀριστοκράτους ἔργων. Βουλόμενος δὲ τῷ ὑμετέρῳ πλήθει
 δοκεῖν πιστὸς εἶναι, Ἄντιφῶντα καὶ Ἀρχεπτόλεμον φιλτά-
 τους ὄντας αὐτῷ κατηγορῶν ἀπέκτεινεν, εἰς τοσοῦτον δὲ
 385 κακίας ἥλθεν, ὥστε ἄμα μὲν διὰ τὴν πρὸς ἔκείνους πίστιν
 ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, διὰ δὲ τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶς τοὺς φίλους
 68 ἀπώλεσε. τιμώμενος δὲ καὶ τῶν μεγίστων ἀξιούμενος,
 αὐτὸς ἐπαγγειλάμενος σώσειν τὴν πόλιν αὐτὸς ἀπώλεσε,
 φάσκων πρᾶγμα ηύρηκέναι μέγα καὶ πολλοῦ ἄξιον. ὑπέ-
 390 σχετο δὲ εἰρήνην ποιήσειν μήτε ὅμηρα δοὺς μήτε τὰ τείχη
 καθελὼν μήτε τὰς ναῦς παραδούς· ταῦτα δὲ εἰπεῖν μὲν
 69 οὐδενὶ ἥθελησεν, ἐκέλευσε δὲ αὐτῷ πιστεύειν. ὑμεῖς δέ, ὡ
 ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, πραττούσης μὲν τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ
 βουλῆς σωτήρια, ἀντιλεγόντων δὲ πολλῶν Θηραμένει,

—'Αριστοκράτους: son of Scellius, was a taxiarχ under the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 92. 4), and was a noted 'aristocrat.' Aristophanes puns on his name, *Aves*, 125, ΕΙΙ. δριστοκρατεῖσθαι δῆλος εἰ γηῶν. ΕΤ. ἔγώ; ἥκιστα· καὶ τὸν Σκελλίου βθελύτομα. He was one of the generals put to death after Arginusae.

67. Ἄντιφῶντα: see on § 65. — 'Αρχεπτόλεμον: son of Hippodamus (Ar. *Eq.* 327), and a favourer of peace with Sparta. — κατηγορῶν: the decree, moved by Andron, by which they were accused of high treason, is given in Ps.-Plut. *Vitae X Oratt.*, 834 Α. The charge was of intrigue with Sparta. — ἀπέκτεινεν: not, of course, with his own hand; cf. § 23.

68. τιμώμενος κτλ.: Lysias skips to 405 B.C., for there was nothing in the record of Theramenes as general

from 411 to 408 with which to find fault. Of his behaviour in the accusation of the generals (cf. § 36), Lysias could say nothing without accusing the people of a judicial murder. — αὐτός: of his own accord (cf. § 70, *xxxii. 15*), repeated with ἀπώλεσε to emphasize the attack; cf. Xen. *Anab.* iii. 2. 4, αὐτὸς διώρεις ἡμῖν, αὐτὸς δεξιὰς δούς, αὐτὸς ἔξαπατήσας. — ὑπέσχετο δέ: there is nothing adversative in δέ here to the English mind; cf. § 9. One might expect γάρ.

69. πραττούσης . . . σωτήρια: the Areopagus had at this period legally no political power, but appears, in the case of this crisis and of some others, to have used its influence in an informal way. Probably it was trying here to reconcile the parties. — πολλῶν: among them was Cleophon, as we know from *xiii. 7 ff.* —

395 εἰδότες δὲ ὅτι οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι ἄνθρωποι τῶν πολεμίων ἔνεκα τάπορρητα ποιοῦνται, ἐκεῖνος δ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῦ πολίταις οὐκ ἡθέλησεν εἰπεῖν ταῦτα ἀ πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους ἐμελλεν ἔρειν, ὅμως ἐπετρέψατε αὐτῷ πατρίδα καὶ παῖδας καὶ 400 γυναῖκας καὶ ὑμᾶς αὐτούς. ὃ δὲ ὅν μὲν ὑπέσχετο οὐδὲν ἔπραξεν, οὕτως δὲ ἐνετεθύμητο ὡς χρὴ μικρὰν καὶ ἀσθενῆ γενέσθαι τὴν πόλιν, ὥστε περὶ ὅν οὐδεὶς πώποτε οὔτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη οὔτε τῶν πολιτῶν ἥλπισε, ταῦθ' ὑμᾶς ἔπεισε πρᾶξαι, οὐχ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἀναγκαζόμενος,

ἐν τοῖς κτλ.: see on § 6. — ἐπετρέψατε: this was the occasion when Theramenes was sent alone, *πρεσβευτὴν αὐτοκράτορα*, XIII. 10. Lysias says nothing here of the facts that ambassadors had already been sent to the Spartans to sue for peace on favourable terms (cf. XIII. 8, *Xen. Hellen.* ii. 2. 11 ff.), and that Theramenes, after his return (from Lysander, not from Sparta), was sent to Sparta with nine others (*Xen. Hellen.* ii. 2. 17), who finally brought the Spartan terms to Athens.

70. ἐνετεθύμητο: 'was so firmly convinced.' — οὕτε τῶν πολεμίων ἐμνήσθη, κτλ.: in answer to the first embassy mentioned above, the Spartans had required that the long walls should be taken down for ten stadia (XIII. 8, *Xen. Hellen.* ii. 2. 15). The final terms, doubtless previously agreed upon between the oligarchs and Lysander, required the entire demolition of those walls, the dismantling of the Piraeus, the surrender of all but twelve ships, the return of the exiles, and that Athens should join the Spartan alliance; *Xen. ibid.*

20, cf. Plut. *Lys.* 14. These were the terms on which peace was made at an assembly held probably in April, 404 B.C. Aristotle says that it was stipulated that Athens should assume its ancient form of government, and this is the only condition mentioned in *Resp. Ath.* 34. 3, *τὴς εἰρήνης γενομένης αὐτοῖς ἐφ' ὃ τε πολιτεύονται τὴν πάτριον πολιτείαν*. Cf. Diod. XIV. 3. It does not seem likely that this provision was among the actual conditions of peace. at any rate, the question of changing the form of government (*τὴν ἴπαρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι*) was not considered until a second assembly, the one mentioned in the next section, which was held in the summer or early in September. In this speech, therefore, Lysias apparently confuses the two meetings; but the knowledge possessed by his hearers might acquit him of intentional deceit. He states the terms more exactly in XIII. 14. — ἐπιτε: sc. in his speech announcing the terms, *Xen. Hellen.* ii. 2. 22, *λέγων ὡς χρὴ πειθεσθαι τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ τὰ τείχη περιαρεῖν*. — οὐχ κτλ.: see on § 71.

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις ἐπαγγελλόμενος, τοῦ τε Πειραιῶς τὰ
40 τείχη περιελεῖν καὶ τὴν ὑπάρχουσαν πολιτείαν καταλῦσαι,
εὐ εἰδὼς ὅτι, εἰ μὴ πασῶν τῶν ἐλπίδων ἀποστερήσεσθε,
71 ταχεῖαν παρ' αὐτοῦ τὴν τιμωρίαν κομεῖσθε. καὶ τὸ
τελευταῖον, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐ πρότερον εἴαστε τὴν
έκκλησίαν γενέσθαι, ἔως ὃ ὡμολογημένος ὑπ' ἐκείνων
410 καιρὸς ἐπιμελῶς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ἐτηρήθη καὶ μετεπέμψατο μὲν
τὰς μετὰ Λυσάνδρου ναῦς ἐκ Σάμου, ἐπεδήμησε δὲ τὸ τῶν
72 πολεμίων στρατόπεδον. τότε δὲ τούτων ὑπαρχόντων καὶ
παρόντος Λυσάνδρου καὶ Φιλοχάρους καὶ Μιλτιάδου περὶ¹
τῆς πολιτείας τὴν ἐκκλησίαν ἐποίουν, ἵνα μήτε ῥήτωρ
415 αὐτοῖς μηδεὶς ἐναντιοῦτο μηδὲ διαπειλῶτο ὑμεῖς τε μὴ τὰ
τῇ πόλει συμφέροντα ἐλοισθε, ἀλλὰ τάκείνοις δοκοῦντα

71. Here Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 34. 3) differs from Lysias. According to the former, Theramenes, who with other moderates had wished for a return to the old government (the constitution of Solon?), opposed the institution of the Thirty: *Λυσάνδρου δὲ προσθεμένον (joining) τοῖς δλιγαρχοῦς, καταπλαγεῖς δ δῆμος ἡναγκάσθη χειροτονεῖν τὴν δλιγαρχίαν.* So Diod. xiv. 3, with the addition that Lysander threatened to kill Theramenes unless he ceased his opposition. Xenophon gives no details of this second assembly, *Hellen.* ii. 3. 2. — *οὐ πρότερον . . . θεως*: instead of the usual οὐ πρότερον πριν. — *ἐκείνων*: i.e. the Spartans. — *καιρός*: *the right moment.* Probably this was the surrender of Samos. — *ἐκ Σάμου*: Lysander had therefore sailed thither after the capitulation of Athens to reduce this island; so Diod. xiv. 3. According to Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 3, he did not go until

after the institution of the Thirty. See App. — *ἐπεδήμησε*: ‘had entered the city.’ The impf. would denote a state of being in the city. G. 1260; H. 841; cf. vii. 36, xxiii. 15. On the augment, see on *ἐξεκλησίαζετε*, § 73. — *στρατόπεδον*: i.e. the army of King Agis; cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 3.

72. *τούτων ὑπαρχόντων*: it was all a previously arranged affair. — *παρόντος*: for the sing., see on *ἔξιδοι*, § 12. — *Φιλοχάρους*: an Athenian, like Miltiades, as the names indicate. They may have been leaders among the oligarchs, sent to fetch Lysander when the time was ripe. — *ῥήτωρ*: a term for any one who addressed the assembly, whether or not a practised speaker; see on xxxi. 27. — *ἐναντιοῦτο*: on the tense of this verb and of *διαπειλῶτο* as contrasted with the aorists following, see App. to xvi. 6.

73 ψηφίσαισθε. ἀναστὰς δὲ Θηραμένης ἐκέλευσεν ὑμᾶς τριάκοντα ἀνδράσιν ἐπιτρέψαι τὴν πόλιν καὶ τῇ πολιτείᾳ χρῆσθαι ἦν Δρακοντίδης ἀπέφαινεν. ὑμεῖς δ' ὅμως καὶ 420 οὗτοι διακείμενοι ἐθορυβεῖτε ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες ταῦτα. ἐγιγνώσκετε γὰρ ὅτι περὶ δουλείας καὶ ἐλευθερίας ἐν 74 ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἔξεκλησιάζετε. Θηραμένης δέ, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί (καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς αὐτοὺς μάρτυρας παρέχομαι), εἰπεν ὅτι οὐδὲν αὐτῷ μέλοι τοῦ ὑμετέρου θορύβου, ἐπειδὴ 425 πολλοὺς μὲν Ἀθηναίων εἰδείη τοὺς τὰ ὅμοια πράττοντας αὐτῷ, δοκοῦντα δὲ Λυσάνδρῳ καὶ Λακεδαιμονίοις λέγοι. μετ' ἐκείνον δὲ Λύσανδρος ἀναστὰς ἀλλα τε πολλὰ εἰπε καὶ ὅτι παρασπόνδους ὑμᾶς ἔχοι, καὶ ὅτι οὐ περὶ πολιτείας 430 ὑμῖν ἔσται ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας, εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιθ' ἀ Θηρα-

73. **Δρακοντίδης**: cf. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 34. 3, ἔγραψε (*moved*) δὲ τὸ ψῆφισμα (i.e. the decree establishing the Thirty) Δρακοντίδης Ἀφιδναῖος. He was a low fellow, often cast in suits, and the butt of comic poets; cf. Schol. Ar. *Vesp.* 157. He was one of the Thirty. — **ἀπέφαινεν**: 'proceeded to declare'; the proper word would be ἔγραψε (see Arist. just quoted), but Lysias selects a word which shows that their plan was all arranged beforehand. — **ὅμως...** **διακείμενοι**: 'in spite of being in such a plight.' — **θορυβεῖτε**: the regular word used of large bodies of people, signifying sometimes approval, sometimes disapproval; here the latter, as in Plat. *Apol.* 21 A, καὶ ὅτερ λέγω μὴ θορυβεῖτε, ὡς ἀνδρες. — **ὡς οὐ ποιήσοντες**: a construction closely resembling *indir. disc.* Cf. *xxxii. 23*, and see *GMT. 919*. — **ἔξεκλησιάζετε**: on the augment, see G. 543; H. 382 a; and

App. On the tense in *indir. disc.*, cf. *vii. 12*. G. 1489; H. 936.

74. **παρέχομαι**: an appeal to the judges as witnesses was not unusual. Cf. *vii. 25*, *xxii. 12*, and *Plat. Apol.* 19 D, μάρτυρας δὲ αὐτοὺς ὑμῶν τοὺς πολλοὺς παρέχομαι. — **δοκοῦντα κτλ.**: a shameless admission. On the fact, cf. Critias's words, Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3, 25, σὺν τῷ Λακεδαιμονίων γνώμῃ τὴνδε τὴν πολιτείαν καθίσταμεν. — **παρασπόνδους**: because the walls had not been wholly demolished to conform to the treaty. Cf. Plut. *Lys.* 15, ἐφη τὴν πόλιν εἰληφέναι παρασπόνδους· ἔσταντι γὰρ τὰ τείχη τῶν ἡμερῶν, ἐν αἷς ἔδει καθηρῆσθαι, παραχημένων. — **οὐ περὶ...** **ἔσται**: 'it would not be a question of forms of government.' Cf. Ar. *Eq.* 87, περὶ πότου (*drinking*) γοῦν ἔστι σοι; — **ἔσται, ποιήσασθε, κελεύοι**: on the change of mood, see G. 1498. — **ἀλλὰ περὶ σωτηρίας**: 'but a matter of life or death.'

75 μένης κελεύοι. τῶν δ' ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ ὅσοι ἀνδρες ἀγαθοὶ
ἡσαν, γνόντες τὴν παρασκευὴν καὶ τὴν ἀνάγκην, οἱ μὲν
αὐτοῦ μένοντες ἡσυχίαν ἤγον, οἱ δ' ὥχοντο ἀπιόντες, τοῦτο
γοῦν σφίσιν αὐτοῖς συνειδότες ὅτι οὐδὲν κακὸν τῇ πόλει
ἔψηφίσαντο· ὀλίγοι δέ τινες καὶ πονηροὶ καὶ κακῶς βου-
76 λευόμενοι τὰ προσταχθέντα ἔχειροτόνησαν· παρήγγελτο
γὰρ αὐτοῖς δέκα μὲν οὓς Θηραμένης ἀπέδειξε χειροτονῆ-
σαι, δέκα δὲ οὓς οἱ καθεστηκότες ἔφοροι κελεύοιεν, δέκα δ'
ἐκ τῶν παρόντων· οὕτω γὰρ τὴν ὑμετέραν ἀσθένειαν ἔωρων
καὶ τὴν αὐτῶν δύναμιν ἡπίσταντο, ὥστε πρότερον ἥδεσαν
77 τὰ μέλλοντα ἐν τῇ ἐκκλησίᾳ πραχθήσεσθαι. ταῦτα δὲ οὐκ
ἔμοὶ δεῖ πιστεῦσαι, ἀλλὰ ἐκείνῳ· πάντα γὰρ τὰ ὑπὸ ἔμοῦ
εἰρημένα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ ἀπολογούμενος ἔλεγεν, ὀνειδίζων
μὲν τοῖς φεύγουσιν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν κατέλθοιεν, οὐδὲν φρον-
τιζόντων Λακεδαιμονίων, ὀνειδίζων δὲ τοῖς τῆς πολιτείας
448 μετέχουσιν, ὅτι πάντων τῶν πεπραγμένων τοῖς εἰρημένοις

75. παρασκευὴ: 'the plot.' It was a 'put-up job'; see on vii. 18.—
ἥχοντο ἀπιόντες: *were off and away* ;
see on § 13. — γοῦν: *at least, at any rate.*

76. Lysias is our only authority for the details given in this section.—
παρήγγελτο: for the meaning, see on § 44.—
ἀπέδειξε: *nominated*, *indir. disc.*, but not changed to the opt., since it is a dependent aorist indicative. G. 1499; H. 935 c. Of the ten nominated by Theramenes one was perhaps Eratosthenes; all probably shared Theramenes's moderate views. — καθεστηκότες: *sc. ὑπὸ τῶν ἑταρῶν*, cf. § 43. — κελεύοιεν: *indir. disc.* like *ἀπέδειξε*, but here changed since it represents the pres. indicative. — ἐκ τῶν παρόντων: a hollow

concession, for the assembly was intimidated. — πρότερον: *beforehand*, i.e. in their clubs.

77. ἐν τῇ βουλῇ: on the occasion when Theramenes's name was struck from the list. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 24 ff. But his speech, as given by Xenophon, contains nothing of what now follows in Lysias. See App.—
δι' αὐτὸν: on this use of *διά*, see on § 58. — οὐδὲν φροντιζόντων: 'caring nothing about it.' The exiles returned after the surrender (see on § 70). The Spartans personally cared only to make Athens weak, and it was only after the intrigues of Lysander and the Athenian oligarchs that the terms of peace were fixed in detail as stated on § 70. — τοῖς εἰρημένοις τρόποις ὑπὸ ἔμοι: called by

τρόποις ὑπ' ἐμοῦ αὐτοῖς αἴτιος γεγενημένος τοιούτων τυγχάνοι, πολλὰς πίστεις αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ δεδωκὼς καὶ παρ' 78 ἐκείνων ὄρκους εὐληφώς. καὶ τοσούτων καὶ ἑτέρων κακῶν καὶ αἰσχρῶν καὶ πάλαι καὶ νεωστὶ καὶ μικρῶν καὶ μεγάλων αἰτίῳ γεγενημένῳ τολμήσουσιν αὐτοὺς φίλους ὅντας ἀποφαίνειν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν ἀποθανόντος Θηραμένους ἀλλ' ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοῦ πονηρίας, καὶ δικαίως μὲν ἐν ὀλιγαρχίᾳ δίκην δόντος — ἥδη γὰρ αὐτὴν κατέλυσε — δικαίως δ' ἀν ἐν δημοκρατίᾳ. δὶς γὰρ ὑμᾶς κατεδουλώσατο, τῶν μὲν 45 παρόντων καταφρονῶν, τῶν δὲ ἀπόντων ἐπιθυμῶν, καὶ τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνόματι χρώμενος δεινοτάτων ἔργων διδάσκαλος καταστάσ.

79 Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν Θηραμένους ἵκανά μοί ἔστι τὰ κατηγορημένα· ἥκει δ' ὑμῖν ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός, ἐν φ δεῖ συγγνώ-

Frohberger a unique instance in Lysias of the separation of a prepositional phrase from the partic. to which it belongs. For the normal order, see three lines above. G. 969; H. 667 a. See App. — τοιούτων: 'such a return.' — πίστεις: for the meaning, see on § 27.

78. καὶ: its frequent repetition here (*ἀθροισμός*) adds great weight. — τολμήσουσιν: on the pl., see p. 28, note 25. — ὑπὲρ: repeated for the sake of parallelism; before πονηρας it has the meaning of ἔτεκα, cf. § 37. — οὐχ ὑπὲρ . . . Θηραμένους: though it was not for you that Theramenes died. — ἥδη . . . κατέλυσε: the government of the Four Hundred is meant; cf. § 66. See App. — ἐν: belongs to δόντος, understood from above. See on § 20; and for the apod. thus expressed by a partic.,

G. 1418. The idea is that, had he lived, he would have been justly punished by the restored democracy after the fall of the Thirty. — τῶν μὲν παρόντων . . . ἐπιθυμῶν: the 'paronomasia' and 'homoeoteleuton' (see the lexicon) lend the air of a proverb to this passage; cf. Theopompos ap. Athen. 261 A, τῶν μὲν ὑπαρχούτων ἥμελον, τῶν δ' ἀπόντων ἐπεθύμουν. This 'belittling what you have and wanting what you have not' is the opposite of the characteristic of the *ἄνθρωποι σώφρων* (see on *μετρίως*, xvi. 3). Cf. [Isocr.] i. 29, στέργε τὰ παρόντα, ἔχτε δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα. Nicias bids the Athenians before the Sicilian expedition μηδυσέρωτας εἶναι τῶν ἀπόντων, Thuc. vi. 13. — τῷ καλλίστῳ ὀνόματι: Theramenes had come forward as *σωτήρ*, cf. § 68.

79. ἐκεῖνος ὁ καιρός: 'that long-

460 μην καὶ ἔλεον μὴ εἶναι ἐν ταῖς ὑμετέραις γνώμαις, ἀλλὰ παρὰ Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου συναρχόντων δύκην λαβεῖν, μηδὲ μαχομένους μὲν κρείττους εἶναι τῶν πολε-
80 μίων, ψηφιζομένους δὲ ἥττους τῶν ἔχθρων. μηδ' ὧν φασι μέλλειν πράξειν πλείω χάριν αὐτοῖς ἵστε, ἡ δὲ ἐποίησαν
465 ὄργυζεσθε· μηδ' ἀποῦσι μὲν τοὺς τριάκοντα ἐπιβουλεύετε, παρόντας δ' ἀφῆτε· μηδὲ τῆς τύχης, ἡ τούτους παρέδωκε τῇ πόλει, κάκιον[ὑμεῖς]ύμνῳ αὐτοῖς βοηθήσητε.

81 Κατηγόρηται μὲν Ἐρατοσθένους καὶ τῶν τούτου φίλων, οἷς τὰς ἀπολογίας ἀνοίσει καὶ μεθ' ὧν αὐτῷ ταῦτα πέ-
470 πρακται. ὁ μέντοι ἀγὸν οὐκ ἔξ ἵστον τῇ πόλει καὶ Ἐρατο- σθένει· οὗτος μὲν γάρ κατήγορος καὶ δικαστὴς αὐτὸς ἦν τῶν κρινομένων, ἡμεῖς δὲ νυνὶ εἰς κατηγορίαν καὶ ἀπολο-
82 γίαν καθέσταμεν. καὶ οὗτοι μὲν τοὺς οὐδὲν ἀδικοῦντας

expected hour.' — πολεμίων: this, like ἔχθρῶν, refers to the Thirty, in the civil war and in the political or legal arena. — ψηφιζομένους: 'at the ballot box.'

80. ὧν: assimilated like the following ὧν to the case of the omitted antec., which would be a causal gen. — ὄργυζεσθε: imv., like τοτε and ἐπιβουλεύετε. Note the change in tense: ἐπιβουλεύετε, 'keep plotting'; ἀφῆτε (subjv.), 'let them off' (once for all). G. 1346; H. 874 a. On the gen. with δργίζεσθαι, see on XXXI. II. — ἀποθντος: the main body of the Tyrants was still in Eleusis. — τῆς τύχης κτλ.: cf. Isocr. v. 152, αἰσχρὸν ἔστι καλῶς τῆς τύχης ἡγουμένης ἀπολειφθῆναι, καὶ μὴ παρα- σχεῖν σαυτὸν εἰς ὁ βούλεται σε προαγα- γεῖν.

81. 'My accusation is finished. But Eratosthenes and his country do

not stand on equal terms. He is granted a fair trial; the patriots were condemned unheard.' — κατηγόρηται μέν: see App. — οἷς ἀνοίσει: a rare construction (cf. VII. 17), instead of the usual εἰς and acc., §§ 28, 64. — οὐκ ἔξ ιστον: not on an equality. Cf. Ar. Ran. 867, οὐκ ἔξ ιστον γάρ ἔστιν ἀγὸν νῦν. — αὐτός: 'in one and the same person,' like idem. Under the Thirty the functions of the civil courts seem to have been entirely suspended. The Thirty had power to kill anybody whose name was not in the catalogue (see on § 17, Arist. Resp. Ath. 37; Xen. Hellen. ii. 3. 51), and their senate anybody whose name was in the catalogue (Xen. ibid.). In general it was a time of lawlessness; see on VII. 27. — ἡμεῖς...καθέσταμεν: 'we have settled down to the regular forms of law.'

ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν, ὑμεῖς δὲ τοὺς ἀπολέσαντας τὴν πόλιν
 475 κατὰ τὸν νόμον ἀξιοῦτε κρίνειν, παρ' ὃν οὐδ' ἀν παρα- | ?
 νόμως βουλόμενοι δίκην λαμβάνειν, ἀξίαν τῶν ἀδικημάτων
 ὃν τὴν πόλιν ἡδικήκαστι λάβοιτε. τί γὰρ ἀν παθόντες
 483 δίκην τὴν ἀξίαν εἴησαν τῶν ἔργων δεδωκότες; πότερον εἰ
 αὐτοὺς ἀποκτείνατε καὶ τοὺς παιδας αὐτῶν, ἵκανὴν ἀν τοῦ
 480 φόνου δίκην λάβοιμεν, ὃν οὗτοι πατέρας καὶ ὑεῖς καὶ
 ἀδελφοὺς ἀκρίτους ἀπέκτειναν; ἀλλὰ γὰρ εἰ τὰ χρήματα
 τὰ φανερὰ δημεύσατε, καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι ἡ τῇ πόλει, ἃς οὗτοι
 πολλὰ εἰλήφασιν, ἡ τοῦς ἴδιώτας, ὃν τὰς οἰκίας ἔξεπόρ-
 484 θησαν; ἐπειδὴ τούννυ πάντα ποιοῦντες δίκην παρ' αὐτῶν
 485 ἵκανὴν οὐκ ἀν δύναισθε λαβεῖν, πῶς οὐκ αἰσχρὸν ὑμῖν καὶ
 ἡντινοῦν ἀπολιπεῖν, ἡντινά τις βούλοιτο παρὰ τούτων
 λαμβάνειν; πᾶν δ' ἀν μοι δοκεῖ τολμῆσαι, δόστις νυνί,
 οὐχ ἔτέρων ὄντων τῶν δικαστῶν ἀλλ' αὐτῶν τῶν κακῶς
 πεπονθότων, ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος πρὸς αὐτοὺς τοὺς
 490 μάρτυρας τῆς τούτου πονηρίας· τοσοῦτον ἡ ὑμῶν κατα-

82. Further reasons why the issue between Eratosthenes and the city is not a fair one. — οὐδὲ ἄν: on the position of *ἄν* (which belongs to *λαβούστε*), cf. § 37. So in the following *τι γὰρ ἄν*. — ἀδικημάτων: depends on *ἀξίαν*.

83. ὃν: its antecedent is the subj. of *λαβούμεν*. — ὑεῖς: on the form, see on § 34. — ἀλλὰ γάρ: see on § 40. — φανερά: a word used, speaking roughly, of 'real' in distinction from 'personal' property; see on xxxii. 4. — καλῶς ἀν ἔχοι: *would it be enough?* Cf. Eur. *Hel.* 1579, *ἴτ'*, ὡς ξέν', *εἰς τὸ πρόσθεν*, ἡ καλῶς ἔχει, *πλεύσωμεν*; . . . δ' ὁ εἰφέντας μοι. — τίς: for the case, see on § 40.

84. ἡντινοῦν: *any whatsoever*. H. 1002 a; cf. xxii. 15. — βούλοιτο: an opt. without *ἄν* in a rel. clause depending on an expression of property (here impropriety) in a primary tense (GMT. 555). Cf. Plat. *Rep.* 332 A, *ἀποδοτέον οὐδὲ δικαστιῶν τέτε, διπτέ τις μὴ σωφρόνως ἀπαιτοῖ, a depositū should not be returned on any account when the person who asks it back is not in his right mind.* — πᾶν: 'anything and everything.' — δόστις: for the meaning, see on xxiii. 12. — ἥκει ἀπολογησόμενος: cf. § 22, and see p. 27, note 20. — τοσοῦτον: sums up the foregoing and draws the inference; hence without *γάρ*. See on *τοιαῦτα*, § 1, and cf. οὗτως, xxxii. 21.

85 πεφρόνηκεν ἡ ἔτέροις πεπίστευκεν. ὃν ἀμφοτέρων ἄξιον ἐπιμεληθῆναι, ἐνθυμουμένους ὅτι οὗτ' ἀν ἐκεῖνα ἐδύναντο ποιεῖν μὴ ἔτέρων συμπραττόντων, οὗτ' ἀν τὸν ἐπεχείρησαν ἐλθεῖν μὴ ὑπὸ τῶν αὐτῶν οἰόμενοι σωθῆσεσθαι, οἱ οὐ τούτοις ἥκουσι βοηθήσοντες, ἀλλὰ ἡγούμενοι πολλὴν ἄδειαν σφίσιν ἔσεσθαι καὶ τοῦ λοιποῦ ποιεῖν ὃ τι ἀν βούλωνται, εἰ τοὺς μεγίστων κακῶν αἰτίους λαβόντες ἀφήσετε.

86 Ἀλλὰ καὶ τῶν συνερούντων αὐτοῦς ἄξιον θαυμάζειν, πότερον ὡς καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ αἰτήσονται, τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρετὴν πλείονος ἄξιαν ἀποφαίνοντες τῆς τούτων πονηρίας—ἔβουλόμην μέντ' ἀν αὐτοὺς οὐτω προθύμους εἶναι σφέαν τὴν πόλιν, ὥσπερ οὗτοι ἀπολλύναι—ἢ ὡς δεινοὶ λέγειν ἀπολογήσονται καὶ τὰ τούτων ἔργα πολλοῦ ἄξια ἀποφανοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐχ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν οὐδεὶς αὐτῶν οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια πώποτε ἐπεχείρησεν εἰπεῖν.

87 Ἀλλὰ τοὺς μάρτυρας ἄξιον ἴδειν, οἱ τούτοις μαρτυροῦντες αὐτῶν κατηγοροῦσι, σφόδρα ἐπιλήγμονας καὶ εὐήθεις νομίζοντες ὑμᾶς εἶναι, εἰ διὰ μὲν τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους

85. ἄκιντα: 'those crimes.' — 86-ναντο: *impf.*, used of repeated actions in past time in a supposition contrary to fact. G. 1397; H. 895 a. Cf. XIII. 36, *εἰ μὲν οὖν ἐν τῷ δικαστηρῷ ἐκρίνοντο* (*if their several trials had been held in court*), *ράδιος ἀν ἐσψόντο*. — ἀλθεῖν: *sc.* before the court. — οἱ... βοηθήσοντες: former members of the oligarchical party are meant, present, acc. to Lysias, not to speak for Eratosthenes, but to see how this test case was going to be decided. — ἄδειαν: *immunity*. — καὶ: *also*. — ποιεῖν: depends on *ἄδειαν* as in XII. 19, but in XXX. 34 we have *τοῦ ποιεῖν*. See App.

86. ἀλλὰ καὶ: transition to a brief

attack on the *συνήγοροι* (*cf.* XXXI. 32, and see *Introd.* § 36), some of whom may be included under οἱ... βοηθήσοντες, § 85. — καλοὶ κάγαθοὶ: Lysias employs sneeringly one of the terms regularly applied by oligarchs to themselves. Other terms were βελτιστοὶ, χρηστοὶ. — αἰτήσονται: the simple verb is used of *συνήγοροι* also in XXX. 33, but more commonly ἄξιατεῖσθαι, as in XXX. 31. — ἔβουλόμην ἔν: *I could wish*; see on § 22. — οὐδὲ τὰ δίκαια: *not even what was just*.

87. εὐήθεις: a common ironical term signifying *ἄφρονας*, as in XVI. 6. — διά: observe the use of gen. and acc. here. The δέ clause is best subordi-

ἀδεῶς ἥγοῦνται τοὺς τριάκοντα σώσειν, διὰ δὲ Ἐρατοσθένη
 510 καὶ τοὺς συνάρχοντας αὐτὸῦ δεινὸν ἥν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων
 88 ἐπ' ἔκφορὰν ἐλθεῖν. καίτοι οὗτοι μὲν σωθέντες πάλιν ἀν
 δύναιντο τὴν πόλιν ἀπολέσαι· ἐκεῖνοι δέ, οὓς οὗτοι ἀπώ
 λεσαν, τελευτήσαντες τὸν βίον πέρας ἔχουσι τῆς τῶν
 ἔχθρῶν τιμωρίας. οὐκ οὖν δεινὸν εἰ τῶν μὲν ἀδίκως
 515 τεθνεώτων οἱ φίλοι συναπώλλυντο, αὐτοῖς δὲ τοῖς τὴν
 πόλιν ἀπολέσασιν ἐπ' ἔκφορὰν πολλοὶ ἥξουσιν, ὅπότε
 89 βοηθεῖν τοσοῦτοι παρασκευάζονται; καὶ μὲν δὴ πολλῷ
 ῥᾷον ἥγοῦμαι εἰναι ὑπὲρ ὅν ὑμεῖς ἐπάσχετε ἀντειπεῖν ἥ
 ὑπὲρ ὅν οὗτοι πεποιήκασιν ἀπολογήσασθαι. καίτοι λέ
 520 γουσιν ὡς Ἐρατοσθένει ἐλάχιστα τῶν τριάκοντα κακὰ
 εἴργασται, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο αὐτὸν ἀξιοῦσι σωθῆναι· ὅτι δὲ
 τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων πλεῖστα εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐξημάρτηκεν, οὐκ
 οἴονται χρῆναι αὐτὸν ἀπολέσθαι;

nated by using *while* and *yet* in translation. — *ἐπι*: of the object sought. G. 1210, 3 c; H. 799, 3 c. — *ἔκφοράν*: see on §§ 18, 21, 96, cf. Aeschines III. 235, (οἱ τριάκοντα) οὐδὲ ἐπὶ τὰς ταφὰς καὶ ἔκφοράς τῶν τελευτήσαντων εἰν τὸν προσήκοντας παραγίγνεσθαι.

88. *καίτοι: and yet.* — *πέρας ἔχουσι* ... *τιμορίας: have no opportunity left for taking vengeance on their foes.* The gen. ἔχθρῶν is objective. The phrase *πέρας ἔχειν* means 'be at an end,' cf. Lycurg. Leocr. 60, *περὶ τὰς πόλεις (in the case of cities) συμβαίνει πέρας ἔχειν τὴν ἀτυχίαν δταν ἀνάστατον (utterly overthrown) γένωνται.* The Thirty, if spared, might return and revenge themselves by setting up another oligarchy (*πάλιν ... ἀπολέσαι*); the patriot dead were helpless. — *δεινὸν εἰ: see on § 36.* — *συναπώλ-*

λυντο: for the tense, see on ἐλάμβανον, § 27. — ἐπ' ἔκφορὰν κτλ.: bitterly sarcastic. Lysias takes a favourable verdict for granted.

89. *καὶ μὲν δὴ: and yet certainly.* — *ῥᾷον εἰναι: the inf. is impf. in time here and the clause represents ῥᾷον ἦν, it were easier (without *δν*, see on § 32), but as understood after *ἥ* it is present, representing *ἔστι*. — *ἀντειπεῖν: sc. in answer to what the Thirty were doing.* — *τῶν τριάκοντα: part. genitive. Cf. xxi. 6, ἡ νῦν δριστά μοι ἔπλει παντὸς τοῦ στρατοπέδου.* — *τῶν ἄλλων Ἑλλήνων: i.e. all except the Thirty. The genitive, considered as partitive, is, strictly speaking, illogical, since Eratosthenes was one of the Thirty. But this use of *τῶν ἄλλων* after a superlative is common enough from Homer down.**

90 *Τμεῖς δὲ δείξετε ἥντινα γνώμην ἔχετε περὶ τῶν πραγ-
525 μάτων. εἰ μὲν γὰρ τούτου καταψηφιεῖσθε, δῆλοι ἔσεσθε

ώς ὄργιζόμενοι τοῦς πεπραγμένους· εἰ δὲ ἀποψηφιεῖσθε,
όφθήσεσθε τῶν αὐτῶν ἔργων ἐπιθυμητὰι τούτοις ὄντες, καὶ
οὐχ ἔξετε λέγειν ὅτι τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα προσταχθέντα
91 ἐποιεῖτε· νυνὶ μὲν γὰρ οὐδεὶς ὑμᾶς ἀναγκάζει παρὰ τὴν
530 ὑμετέραν γνώμην ἀποψηφίζεσθαι.. ὥστε συμβουλεύω μὴ
τούτων ἀποψηφισαμένους ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καταψηφίσασθαι.
μηδ' οὐεσθε κρύβδην εἴναι τὴν ψῆφον· φανερὰν γὰρ τῇ
πόλει τὴν ὑμετέραν γνώμην ποιήσετε.

92 * Βούλομαι δὲ ὀλίγα ἔκατέρους ἀναμνήσας καταβαίνειν,
535 τούς τε ἐξ ἀστεως καὶ τοὺς ἐκ Πειραιῶς, ἵνα τὰς ὑμῖν διὰ
τούτου γεγενημένας συμφορὰς παραδείγματα ἔχοντες τὴν

*Cf. Il. ii. 673, Νιφεύς, ὃς κάλλιστος ἀνὴρ
ὑπὸ Ἰλίου ἥλθεν τῶν δλλων Δαναῶν,
Plat. Rep. 603 E, ἀνὴρ ἐπιεικῆς... οἰδὲ
ἀπολέσας... βάστα οἶσει τῶν δλλων.*

*Cf. expressions like Thuc. i. 50. 2,
ναυμαχία... μεγίστη δὴ τῶν πρὸ αὐτῆς.
Tacitus imitates the Greek usage; cf.
Agr. 34, hi ceterorum Britan-
norum fugacissimi. Cf. Milton's
“Adam, the goodliest of men since
born | His sons, the fairest of her
daughters Eve.” In Greek, the geni-
tive is thought to be ablative, or
is sometimes called the genitive of
separation, expressing the point from
which the comparison is made. See
App.*

90. *δείξετε*: in this and the follow-
ing section Lysias is really addressing
τοὺς ἐξ ἀστεως, hence the menacing
fut. tense here and in the following
protases, for which see on § 11. —
δῆλοι ἔσεσθε ὡς ὄργιζόμενοι: a case
of *ὡς* with the partic. in indir. dis-

course. *Cf. Xen. Anab. i. 5. 9, δῆλος
ἢν Κύρος ὡς σπεύδων, Cyrus showed
that he was hastening. G. 1593;
GMT. 916. On the personal use of
δῆλος here, see G. 1589; H. 981. —
τὰ ὑπὸ... ἐποιεῖτε: with reference to
Eratosthenes's defence in §§ 25, 29.*

91. *νῦν*: more emphatic than *νῦν*.
—*κρύβδην*: of course the actual bal-
loting was, as usual, to be secret.
The meaning is that the result of the
vote will be recognized as a test of
the feelings of the City party. On
adverbs in the predicate as here, cf.
Dem. xix. 239, οὐ γὰρ εἰ κρύβδην ἐστὶν
ἢ ψῆφος, λήσει τοὺς θεούς, and Isocr.
iv. 5, ὥστ' ἥδη μάτην είναι τὸ μεμνήσθαι
περὶ τούτων. See App.

92. The orator abandons his threat-
ening tone, and in the following sec-
tions appeals to the sense of honour
and of shame in the City party; then
he arouses the spirit of vengeance in
the party of the Piraeus. — *καταβαί-*

ψῆφον φέρητε. καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ὅσοι ἔξ αστεώς ἔστε, σκέψασθε ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων οὕτω σφόδρα ἥρχεσθε, ὥστε ἀδελφοῖς καὶ οἴκοις καὶ πολίταις ἡναγκάζεσθε πολεμεῖν 540 τοιοῦτον πόλεμον, ἐν ᾧ ἡπτηθέντες μὲν τοῖς νικήσασι τὸ 93 ὄντον ἔχετε, νικήσαντες δ' ἀν τούτοις ἐδουλεύετε. καὶ τοὺς 545 ἴδιους οἴκους οὗτοι μὲν ἐκ τῶν πραγμάτων μεγάλους ἐκτή- σαντο, ὑμεῖς δὲ διὰ τὸν πρὸς ἀλλήλους πόλεμον ἐλάπτους 550 ἔχετε· συνωφελεῖσθαι μὲν γὰρ ὑμᾶς οὐκ ἡξίουν, συνδια- βάθλεσθαι δ' ἡνάγκαζον, εἰς τοσοῦτον ὑπεροφίας ἐλθόντες 555 ὥστε οὐ τῶν ἀγαθῶν κοινούμενοι πιστοὺς ὑμᾶς ἐκτῶντο, 94 ἀλλὰ τῶν ὀνειδῶν μεταδιδόντες εὔνους φοντο εἶναι. ἀνθ' ὧν ὑμεῖς μὲν ἔν τῷ θαρραλέῳ ὄντες καθ' ὅσον δύνασθε 560 καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν αὐτῶν καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς τιμωρή- σασθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες μὲν ὅτι ὑπὸ τούτων πονηροτάτων 565 ὄντων ἥρχεσθε, ἐνθυμηθέντες δὲ ὅτι μετ' ἀνδρῶν νῦν ἀρίστων πολιτεύεσθε καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις μάχεσθε καὶ

νειν: sc. ἀπὸ τοῦ βήματος. — παραδειγ-
ματα: ‘warnings.’ — οὕτω σφόδρα
ἥρχεσθε: ‘their government was so
severe.’ Cf. Ar. An. 508, ἥρχον δ'
οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν. — τοιοῦτον
ἐν φ: ‘of such a sort that.’ — ἡπτη-
θέντες: concessive. — τὸ Ιτεον: for the
meaning, see on § 35. Isocrates says
that it resulted ὥστε μηδὲν ἔλαττον
ἔχειν τοὺς ἀκβαλόντας τῶν κατελθόντων,
VII. 67. — νικήσαντες: prot. of ἀν ἔδου-
λεντε, which is pres. in time.

93. οἴκους: for the meaning, cf.
XXXII. 23, and Xen. Oec. vi. 4, οἶκος
δ' ἡμῶν ἐφαίνετο ὅπερ (the same as)
κτῆσις ἡ σύμπαστα. — μεγάλους ἐκτή-
σαντο: how they did this may be
seen from §§ 6, 8, 11, 19, 99; cf.
Arist. Resp. Ath. 35. 4, ἀπέκτεινον

τοὺς καὶ τὰς οὐσίας καὶ τῷ γένει καὶ
τῷ ἀξιώμασιν προέχοντας. — συνωφε-
λεῖσθαι . . . ἡνάγκαζον: ‘they did not
suffer you to share their advantages (cf. xvi. 5), but obliged you to share
their dishonour.’ See on § 30. —
ὑμᾶς: obj. with ἐκτῶντο, but subj.
with εὔνους εἶναι. — ἐκτῶντο: of at-
tempted action. See on καθιστάς, § 42.
— εἶναι: pres. after a ‘verb of ex-
pecting’; see on ταῦθειν, § 9.

94. ἀνθ' ὧν: ‘to pay for this.’ —
ἐν τῷ θαρραλέῳ: because the democ-
racy was restored. — νῦν ἀρίστων:
by the hyperbaton (H. 1062) of νῦν,
which belongs to πολιτεύεσθε, a strong
emphasis is given to ἀρίστων, a term
applied to the patriots for their endur-
ance and courage (cf. § 97). —

περὶ τῆς πόλεως βουλεύεσθε, ἀναμνησθέντες δὲ τῶν ἐπικούρων, οὓς οὗτοι φύλακας τῆς σφετέρας ἀρχῆς καὶ τῆς 95 ὑμετέρας δουλείας εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατέστησαν. καὶ πρὸς ὑμᾶς μὲν ἔτι πολλῶν ὄντων εἰπεῖν τοσαῦτα λέγω. ὅσοι δ' ἐκ Πειραιῶς ἔστε, πρῶτον μὲν τῶν ὄπλων ἀναμνήσθητε, ὅτι πολλὰς μάχας ἐν τῇ ἀλλοτρίᾳ μαχεσάμενοι οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν πολεμίων ἀλλ' ὑπὸ τοῦτων εἰρήνης οὕσης 560 ἀφηρέθητε τὰ ὄπλα, ἔπειθ' ὅτι ἔξεκηρύχθητε μὲν ἐκ τῆς πόλεως, ἦν ὑμῖν οἱ πατέρες παρέδοσαν, φεύγοντας δὲ ὑμᾶς 96 ἐκ τῶν πόλεων ἔχοντα. ἀνθ' ὧν ὀργίσθητε μὲν ὥσπερ ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε, ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ καὶ τῶν ἀλλων κακῶν ἀπεπόνθατε ὑπὸ αὐτῶν, οἱ τοὺς μὲν ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς τοὺς δ' 565 ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν συναρπάζοντες βιαίως ἀπέκτειναν, τοὺς δὲ ἀπὸ τέκνων καὶ γονέων καὶ γυναικῶν ἀφέλκοντες φονέας αὐτῶν ἡνάγκασαν γενέσθαι καὶ οὐδὲ ταφῆς τῆς νομιζο- μένης εἴασαν τυχεῖν, ἥγονύμενοι τὴν αὐτῶν ἀρχὴν βεβαιο-

ἐπικούρων: Callibius and his seven hundred mercenaries; see on § 6 and App. to § 6.

95. τοσαῦτα: see on οὐχ δσον, § 11. — ἀφηρέθητε τὰ ὄπλα: for the facts, see on § 40. — ἔξεκηρύχθητε ἐκ τῆς πόλεως: more exact would have been ἐκ τοῦ δστεως (see on § 16), for after the execution of Theramenes the Thirty προείπον τοὺς ἔξω τοῦ καταλόγου μὴ εἰσένειν εἰς τὸ δστυ, Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 1; so Lys. xxv. 22, xxxi. 8. The Piraeus was not forbidden them. On the verb ἔξεκηρύττω, see on § 35. — ἐκ τῶν πόλεων: i.e. the cities belonging to the Spartan alliance, which now included nearly all Greece (hence πανταχόθεν, § 97); cf. Diod. xiv. 6, Λακεδαιμόνιοι . . . ἐψηφίσαντο τοὺς Ἀθη-

ναλων φυγάδας ἐξ ἀπάσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἀγωγίμους (subject to arrest) τοῖς τράκοντα εἴναι. But Thebes (see on § 58), Argos, Megara, and Chalcis (cf. xxiv. 25) harboured them.

96. ὅτ' ἐφεύγετε: when you were in exile. — ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς: cf. Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 14 quoted on § 8, and Dem. xxii. 52, τοῦτο κατηγοροῦσι τῶν τράκοντα, δτι τοὺς ἐκ τῆς ἀγορᾶς δπῆγον. The agora was under the protection of the θεοί ἀγοραῶν. — ἐκ τῶν Ἱερῶν: cf. § 98. Theramenes was dragged from the altar, Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 3. 55. — φονέας αὐτῶν: by forcing them to drink hemlock; cf. § 17. — ταφῆς τῆς νομιζομένης: cf. §§ 18, 21; xxxi. 21; xxxii. 8. — βεβαιοτέραν: surer than or too secure for.

97 τέραν εἶναι τῆς παρὰ τῶν θεῶν τιμωρίας. ὅσοι δὲ τὸν
570 θάνατον διέφυγον, πολλαχοῦ κινδυνεύσαντες καὶ εἰς πολ-

λὰς πόλεις πλανηθέντες καὶ πανταχόθεν ἐκκηρυττόμενοι,
ἐνδεεῖς ὅντες τῶν ἐπιτηδείων, οἱ μὲν ἐν πολεμίᾳ τῇ πατρίδι
τοὺς παιδας καταλιπόντες, οἱ δὲ ἐν ξένῃ γῇ, πολλῶν ἐναν-
τιουμένων ἥλθετε εἰς τὸν Πειραιά. πολλῶν δὲ καὶ μεγά-
878 λων κινδύνων ὑπαρξάντων ἄνδρες ἀγαθοὶ γενόμενοι τοὺς
μὲν ἥλευθερώσατε, τοὺς δὲ εἰς τὴν πατρίδα κατηγάγετε.

98 εἰ δὲ ἐδυστυχήσατε καὶ τούτων ἡμάρτετε, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἀν-
δείσαντες ἐφεύγετε μὴ πάθητε τοιαῦτα οἷα καὶ πρότερον,
καὶ οὐτ' ἀν ἰερὰ οὔτε βωμοὶ ὑμᾶς ἀδικουμένους διὰ τοὺς
580 τούτων τρόπους ὀφέλησεν, ἀ καὶ τοῖς ἀδικοῦσι σωτήρια
γίγνεται. οἱ δὲ παιδες ὑμῶν, ὅσοι μὲν ἐνθάδε ἥσαν, ὑπὸ^{τούτων} ἀν ὑβρίζοντο, οἱ δὲ ἐπὶ ξένης μικρῶν ἀν ἐνέκα
συμβολαίων ἐδούλευον ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων.

99 Ἀλλὰ γάρ οὐ τὰ μέλλοντα ἔσεσθαι βούλομαι λέγειν,

97. πλανηθέντες κτλ.: for the facts, see on § 95. — πολεμίᾳ: pred. position, 'which had now become a hostile country.' — τοὺς μὲν, τοὺς δὲ: the two sets of children mentioned above. — εἰς τὴν πατρίδα: with κατάγειν, κατέιναι, κατέρχεσθαι, technical expressions used of a return from exile, the terminus *ad quem* is usually omitted; cf. §§ 58, 77; xvi. 6.

98. ἐδυστυχήσατε: for the meaning, see on § 35. — τούτων: refers back to ἥλευθερώσατε and κατηγάγετε. — δείσαντες: 'in utter fear,' emphatic in position, preceding instead of following ἐφεύγετε. Cf. μαθήτες, § 35. — πάθητε: subjv., as ἐφεύγετο δὲ is primary. GMT. 172. — ἥσαν: for the tense, see on § 29. — ἐπὶ ξένης:

'in foreign lands,' a common expression in the orators. — συμβολαίων: loans. — ἐδούλευον: not actual slavery, but enforced work done for the lender until the debt was paid; cf. Isocr. xiv. 48, τοὺς παιδας . . . πολλοὺς μὲν μικρῶν ἐνέκα συμβολαίων δουλεύοντας, ἀλλούς δὲ ἐπὶ θητείαν ἔντας. — ἐρημίᾳ τῶν ἐπικουρησόντων: 'for lack of any to succour them.' Cf. διαδέξμενον, xxiv. 6, and Isocr. xix. 29, δι' ἐνδειαν τοῦ θεραπεύσοντος. GMT. 826.

99. ἀλλὰ γάρ: *but enough! for* —. A phrase used in changing the subject; cf. vii. 9, xxii. 11, xxiv. 14. — μέλλοντα: 'would be going.' Cf. vii. 24, and see on παρόν, § 30. G. 1402, 3; GMT. 428. For a different

585 τὰ πραχθέντα ὑπὸ τούτων οὐ δυνάμενος εἰπεῖν· οὐδὲ γὰρ
ένὸς κατηγόρου οὐδὲ δυοῦν ἔργον ἔστιν, ἀλλὰ πολλῶν.
δῆμος δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς προθυμίας οὐδὲν ἐλλέλειπται, ὑπέρ τε
τῶν Ἱερῶν, ἀ οὗτοι τὰ μὲν ἀπέδοντο τὰ δ' εἰσιόντες ἐμία-
νον, ὑπέρ τε τῆς πόλεως, ἦν μικρὰν ἐποίουν, ὑπέρ τε τῶν
590 νεωρίαν, ἀ καθεῖλον, καὶ ὑπέρ τῶν τεθνεώτων, οἷς ὑμεῖς,
ἐπειδὴ ζῶσιν ἐπαμῦναι οὐκ ἡδύνασθε, ἀποθανοῦσι βοηθή-
100 σατε. οἷμαι δ' αὐτοὺς ἡμῶν τε ἀκροασθαι καὶ ὑμᾶς
εἴσεσθαι τὴν ψῆφον φέροντας, ἡγουμένους, ὅσοι μὲν ἀν
τούτων ἀποφηφίσησθε, αὐτῶν θάνατον κατεψηφισμένους
595 ἔσεσθαι, ὅσοι δ' ἀν παρὰ τούτων δίκην λάβωσιν, ὑπὲρ
αὐτῶν τὰς τιμωρίας πεποιημένους.

sense, *cf.* xxii. 20. — οὐ δυνάμενος: a return to the thought of § 1. — Ιερῶν: *Iερά* is a general term, including not only the buildings themselves but also their sacred implements and treasures as well as the holy precincts (*τεμένη*) about them, and it doubtless is not meant that the Thirty sold actual temples. — τὰ μέν, τὰ δέ: partitive apposition. H. 624 d. — μικράν: *cf.* xiii. 46, ὡστε μηδὲν διαφέρειν τῆς ἐλαχίστης πόλεως τὴν πόλιν. — νεωρίαν: the νεώρια consisted of νεώσοικοι, ναυπήγια, and σκευοθήκη (*arsenal*). — καθεῖλον: in order to ensure the downfall of democratic Athens, whose power lay in her ships, the νεώσοικοι, which had cost three thousand talents, were sold for three by the Thirty ἐπὶ καθαρέσει, *to be torn down*; Isocr. vii. 66. — οἰς βοηθήσατε: for the rel. with imv., see on § 60. — ἡδύνασθε: see App.

100. This passage appeals to the popular belief that the dead were

conscious of what went on in the world in matters of peculiar interest to them. See App. — ἡμῶν: *i.e.* Lysias and others who were accusing Eratosthenes. Lysias never uses the pl. *ἡμεῖς* of himself alone (Frohberger). — εἴσεσθαι... φέροντας: not *know that you are casting* (indir. disc.), but *be aware of your casting your votes* (G. 1582; GMT. 884; *cf.* xvi. 20); for *εἰδέναι* when used in connexion with a verb of hearing approaches closely in meaning to *ἰδεῖν*. *Cf.* Isocr. xii. 168, *τίς γὰρ οὐκ οἴδεν ή τίς οὐκ ἀκήκοε;* Dem. iv. 3, *καὶ παρ' ἄλλων ἀκούοντι καὶ τοῖς εἰδόσιν αὐτοῖς ἀναμιγνυσκούμενοι.* — ἀποφηφίσησθε: *shall have acquitted*; GMT. 90. — κατεψηφισμένους ἔσεσθαι: fut. perf. G. 706; H. 467 a; GMT. 80 and 114. *Cf.* xxii. 19. — κατηγορῶν: see on λέγοντι, § 1. — ἀκτηκόστε κτλ.: a strong climax. Aristotle seems to have had this passage in mind in *Rhet.* iii. 19, *τελευτὴ δὲ τῆς λέξεως*

Παύσομαι κατηγορῶν. ἀκηκόατε, ἔωράκατε, πεπόνθατε,
ἔχετε· δικάζετε.

ἀρμόττει ἡ ἀσύνδετος ὅπως ἐπίλογος power. Cf. Lycurg. Leocr. 27, τοῦτον
ἀλλὰ μὴ λόγος ἡ. Εἴρηκα, ἀκηκόατε,
ἔχοντες ἐν τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ ψῆφῳ οὐκ ἀπο-
τενεῖτε, κρίνατε. — ἔχετε: sc. in your

FOR MANTITHEUS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Greek title of this speech shows that Mantitheus, having been elected to an office, had come up before the Senate to pass his δοκιμασία.¹ We do not know positively what the office was, but it is most probable that it was that of Senator. The outgoing Senate conducted the δοκιμασία of its successor.² The principal charge against Mantitheus was that he had served in the cavalry under the Thirty Tyrants (§ 3), and this service, as we know from another oration of Lysias,³ was enough to keep a man out of the Senate. Finally, the language of § 8 strengthens the theory that the office in question was that of Senator.

While any connexion whatever with the Tyrants was remembered against a man for years (*cf.* vii. 27, xxiv. 25), it was natural that service in their cavalry should be the cause of particular hatred. For the cavalry had been prominent from the first with the Thirty and the Spartan troops against the patriots,⁴ in the slaughter at Eleusis,⁵ with the first board of Ten,⁶ and in the last stage of the struggle after the Thirty had withdrawn from the city.⁷ Pausanias, also, had employed them in his half-hearted contest against Thrasybulus.⁸ The hatred felt for the cavalry was shown four years later, in 399 B.C., when the Spartan Thibron applied to Athens for a cavalry contingent to serve against Tissaphernes. The Athenians sent three hundred men who had been in the Thirty's cavalry, *νομίζοντες κέρδος τῷ δῆμῳ, εἰ ἀποδημοῦν καὶ ἐναπόλοιντο.*⁹

¹ See *Introd.* § 8.

⁵ *Ibid.* 8 and 9.

² M. and S. p. 238; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 266; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 45. 3.

⁶ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38. 2.

³ xxvi. 10; *cf.* And. 1. 75.

⁷ Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 26.

⁴ Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 2 and 10.

⁸ *Ibid.* 31.

⁹ *Ibid.* iii. 1. 4.

In view of all this, it was vital that Mantitheus should refute the charge. He does this by documentary evidence. On entrance into service, each cavalryman received a certain sum (called the *καράστασις*¹⁰) from the State to help pay for his outfit. The restored democracy determined to recover for the treasury the money which had been thus paid out to the Thirty's cavalry. A decree was passed (§ 6) that the phylarchs¹¹ should make out a list of these men and hand it over to the syndics,¹² to whom was entrusted the business of recovering the money. This list was the document on which Mantitheus relied, and he points out that his name was not on it. He contends also that fear of punishment would prevent the phylarchs from falsifying it (§ 7). His enemies, also, relied upon a document, — the Thirty's own list of cavalry, called the *σανδιον*¹³ in § 6. But Mantitheus asserts that this was full of falsifications, and that it deserved no credit. In fact, this list probably contained the names of all whom the Thirty *expected* to serve in the cavalry, though some of them escaped service by absence from Athens or in other ways. It should be observed, however, that his own argument, based on the absence of his name from the phylarchs' list, is somewhat fallacious; for he might have served without having received a *καράστασις*, since he arrived so late in the Thirty's term (§ 4).

Believing, however, that he has 398 to 387 B.C. (M. and S. p. 124; cf. xix. 32). They had jurisdiction, *τύποντα* (that is, they prepared the business and presided over the court), in all cases in which property held by a citizen was claimed by the State, or in which a citizen claimed property which had been confiscated by the State.

¹⁰ Sauppe, *Philologus*, XV, 69; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 322; Boeckh, *Staats-haush.* I, p. 319. Martin (*Les Cavaliers Athéniens*, p. 335 ff.) holds (cf. Harp. s.v.) that the *καράστασις* was regularly refunded to the State at the end of the cavalryman's service; so Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 322.

¹¹ The phylarch was the officer who commanded the cavalry contingent of a tribe; the two hipparchs commanded the whole body from the ten tribes.

¹² The *σύνδικοι* (§ 7) were a board originating in the many lawsuits that followed the illegal acts of the Thirty. Their existence may be traced from

¹³ Called *σανδιον* in xxvi. 10 (quoted in the note on § 6); and explained in Hesych. s.v. *σανδιον* by *λεύκωμα*, a word which occurs in [Lys.] ix. 6. These words were applied to all sorts of bulletin boards, which were either painted white or covered with gypsum.

proved his point, and hence that there is no legal hindrance to his becoming a Senator, he devotes the rest of his speech to a statement of the reasons why he deserves the honour.

He gives an account of his entire life, showing that he has been a good brother (§ 10), and a good citizen, especially in war (§§ 11-17). Towards the end we find reason to think that, in support of the main charge, it had been alleged that he was aristocratic (§§ 18, 19) as well as forth-putting (§§ 20, 21). He had evidently given some ground for the former suspicion by his outward appearance and bearing, but he calls upon the court to judge him by what he has done, not by what he has seemed to be. As for the latter, he admits that he may have exceeded the golden mean, but urges that it was with an honorable ambition.

Of Mantitheus himself we know only what he tells us. We should not have even his name except for the Greek title of the speech. He must have been at least thirty years old, since no younger man could enter the Senate,¹⁴ and he was probably not much older (§§ 11 and 20). Of his family we have only the same source of information.¹⁵ It had been prominent in the state (§ 20), but we are not told in what measures. Probably, however, it was of the oligarchical party. This might account for the father's connexion with a foreign prince (§ 4), and for the secondary charge against Mantitheus himself of aristocratic leanings. Blass thinks¹⁶ that the disaster to his father (§ 10) means his fall at Aegos Potami. But had he fallen there, the son would not be silent about such a proof of the loyalty of the family. It is certainly suspicious that we hear not a word more of this father, and perhaps the coupling of his *συμφορά* with the state's is an artful concealment of some punishment inflicted on him¹⁷ as a result of which

¹⁴ Schömann, *Gr. Alt.* 8, I, p. 380; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 265.

¹⁵ It has been supposed, with probability, that the Mantitheus, son of Mantias, of the deme Thoricus, mentioned by Dem. xxxix. 27 ff., was grandson of our speaker. The grandfather of the Demosthenic Mantitheus

bore the same name. Thoricus belonged to the tribe Acamantis, and to this tribe belonged also the deme Cerameis, probably that of the phylarch Orthobulus in § 13 (Köhler, *Hermes*, V, 10 f.; *CIA*. II, 19).

¹⁶ *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 517.

¹⁷ So Frohberger, p. 4, note 33.

Mantitheus was obliged to address the Assembly in his own behalf at an early age (§ 20).

In this oration Lysias has given us a striking proof of his power of suiting the speech to the speaker, and this has always been reckoned among his finest works. We can almost see the bright, ambitious young Athenian, eager to distinguish himself, and ready to defend his good name against all comers.

The speech could not have been delivered before 394 B.C., because in it (§ 15) the events of that year are mentioned, nor after 389, because in the spring of that year Thrasybulus died.¹⁸ The sportive tone and lack of bitterness in the reference to him (*ibid.*) show that he was still alive. Perhaps he was present, and Frohberger suggests that there may have been some sparring between him and Mantitheus at a recent meeting of the Assembly.

¹⁸ Clinton, *F. H.*; Frohberger, *Philologus*, XVII, 437 ff. On the exact date of the speech, see Blass, *Att.* Bereds. I, p. 518 (who sets it at 392), Fuhr p. 118, Frohberger p. 6 (who set it in the preceding year).

ΕΝ ΒΟΤΛΗΙ

ΜΑΝΤΙΘΕΩΙ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΖΟΜΕΝΩΙ ΑΠΟΛΟΓΙΑ.

1. Εἰ μὴ συνήδῃ, ὡς βουλή, τοῖς κατηγόροις βουλομένοις ἐκ παντὸς τρόπου κακῶς ἐμὲ ποιεῦν, πολλὴν ἀν αὐτοῖς χάριν εἶχον ταύτης τῆς κατηγορίας· ἥγουμαι γὰρ τοῖς ἀδίκως διαβεβλημένοις τούτους εἶναι μεγίστων ἀγαθῶν δαιτίους, οἵτινες ἀν αὐτοὺς ἀναγκάζωσιν εἰς ἔλεγχον τῶν 8 αὐτοῖς βεβιωμένων καταστῆναι. ἔγὼ γὰρ οὗτω σφόδρα ἐμαυτῷ πιστεύω, ὡστ' ἐλπίζω καὶ εἰ τις πρός με τυγχάνει ἀηδῶς διακείμενος, ἐπειδὰν ἐμοῦ λέγοντος ἀκούσῃ περὶ τῶν πεπραγμένων, μεταμελήσειν αὐτῷ καὶ πολὺ βελτίω 8 με εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἥγήσεσθαι. ἀξιῶ δέ, ὡς βουλή, ἐὰν μὲν τοῦτο μόνον ὑμῖν ἐπιδείξω, ὡς εὖνοις εἰμὶ τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι καὶ ὡς ἡνάγκασμα τῶν αὐτῶν

1. χάριν εἶχον: *gratiam habem* rem; for a similar paradoxical opening, *cf.* xxiv. 1, and the advice of Dionysius (below, p. 161), and of Cicero, *Inv.* 1. 25, *sin res dabit, non inutile est ab aliqua re nova aut ridicula* (*cf.* *Lys.* vii. 1) *incipere.* — τούτους οἵτινες: the antecedent is not really definite (H. 699 a), *such persons as.* Hence *διαγκάζωσιν.* G. 1431, 1; H. 914, B. — *εἰς ἔλεγχον... καταστῆναι:* *to submit to an investigation of their behaviour in the past.* *Cf.* xxxii. 12. — *βεβιωμένων:* a somewhat rare use of

the partic. as subst. ; see Kr. *Spr.* 52, 3, 5, and *cf.* *Dem.* xviii. 265, *ἔξτασος τοίνυν ταρ̄ ἀλλῆλα τὰ σοι κάμοι βεβιωμένα.*

2. *ἀμαντρέ:* naïvely said and characteristic of Mantitheus. Generally and more modestly the cause, not the man, is mentioned. — *μεταμελήσειν:* *indir. disc., after a verb of expecting.* See on *ποιήσειν*, xii. 9. G. 1286; H. 948 a.

3. *ἀξιῶ:* *think fit, require.* — τοῖς καθεστηκόσι πράγμασι: *the existing order of things, i.e. the present constitution, referring to the restored* •

κινδύνων μετέχειν ύμÎν, μηδέν πώ μοι πλέον εÎναι· ἐὰν δὲ φαινωμαὶ καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα μετρίως βεβιωκὼς καὶ πολὺ παρὰ τὴν δόξαν καὶ παρὰ τοὺς λόγους τοὺς τῶν ἔχθρῶν, δέομαι ύμÎν ἐμὲ μὲν δοκιμάζειν, τούτους δὲ ἡγεῖσθαι χείρους εÎναι. πρῶτον δὲ ἀποδεῖξω ὡς οὐχ ἵππευον ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα οὐδὲ μετέσχον τῆς τότε πολιτείας.

4 Ἡμᾶς γὰρ ὁ πατὴρ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Ἑλλησπόντῳ συμφορᾶς τοῦ Σάτυρον τὸν ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ διαιτησομένους ἔξεπεμψε, καὶ οὕτε τῶν τειχῶν καθαιρουμένων ἐπεδημοῦμεν οὕτε μεθισταμένης τῆς πολιτείας, ἀλλ’ ἥλθομεν πρὶν τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ κατελθεῖν πρότερον πένθ’ ἡμέραις.

democracy, a common use of *πράγματα*. — μηδὲν πώ μοι κτλ.: that I shall gain nothing whatever by it. Here *πλέον* is elliptical, no more (than I should without this). See Kr. Spr. 48, 3, 7; cf. Antiphon v. 95, τι ξεται πλέον τῷ γε ἀποθανότι; what good will it do the dead man? — εἶναι: the object phrase with *δξιώ* conveys also the idea of futurity and hence is the apodosis of *ἐὰν ἐπιδείξω*. GMT. 445. — καὶ περὶ τὰ ἄλλα: in everything else too, i.e. in all the duties of civic and private life. — μετρίως βεβιωκός: 'a well regulated life,' far higher praise to the Greek mind, however, than the English words express. It means the avoidance of all extremes and the possession of the virtue of *σωφροσύνη*. Cf. the Delphic *μηδὲν δύγαν*. — δόξαν: 'what people think.' The slander of his enemies had done its work. — ἡμὲ δοκιμάζειν: to pass me on this examination, cf. XXXI. 34. — χείρους: knaves, the Greek, with his finer feeling for contrasts, using a comparative where we do not; cf.

xxxii. 1. So below, βελτίων, § 17; see Kühn. Gr. § 542, note 7.

4. Σάτυρον: he reigned from about 407 B.C. over the kingdom of the Cimmerian Bosphorus, called also Pontus, which included the Tauric Chersonese (Crimea), and the neighbouring cities on the coast; see Gilbert, *Gr. Staatsalt.* II, p. 188. The capital, Panticaeum, was one of the chief corn-marts of Athens. — τῶν τειχῶν καθαιρουμένων: for the facts, see XII. 70. — μεθισταμένης κτλ.: when the constitution was in course of alteration, sc. to the government of the Thirty. Cf. XII. 74 ff. — ἥλθομεν: came back. Cf. XII. 54, and for ἥκω in this sense, XII. 16. Note the difference in the tenses of ἥλθομεν and ἐπεδημοῦμεν (for the augment, see on XII. 71). — τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς: cf. XII. 52. The title 'men of Phyle' was regularly applied to the patriots after their success, as in Dem. XXIV. 134, τῶν ἐκ Πειραιῶς καὶ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς οὐτος ἦν. Cf. 'he was at Lexington and Bunker Hill.' — πρότερον πένθ' ἡμέραις: πρότερον modifies

δικαίοι οὗτε ἡμᾶς εἰκὸς ἦν εἰς τοιοῦτον καιρὸν ἀφιγμένους
 25 ἐπιθυμεῖν μετέχειν τῶν ἀλλοτρίων κινδύνων, οὗτ' ἐκεῖνοι
 φαίνονται τοιαύτην γνώμην ἔχοντες ὥστε καὶ τοὺς ἀποδη-
 μοῦσι καὶ μηδὲν ἔξαμαρτάνουσι μεταδιδόναι τῆς πολι-
 τείας, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον ἡτίμαζον καὶ τοὺς συγκαταλύσαντας
 30 τὸν δῆμον. ἔπειτα δὲ ἐκ μὲν τοῦ σανιδίου τοὺς ἵππεύ-
 σαντας σκοπεῖν εὐηθές ἔστιν· ἐν τούτῳ γὰρ πολλοὶ μὲν
 τῶν ὁμολογούντων ἵππεύειν οὐκ ἔνεισιν, ἔνιοι δὲ τῶν ἀπο-
 δημούντων ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν. ἐκεῖνος δ' ἔστιν ἐλεγ-
 χος μέγιστος· ἔπειδὴ γὰρ κατήλθετε, ἐψηφίσασθε τοὺς
 φυλάρχους ἀπενεγκεῖν τοὺς ἵππεύσαντας, ἵνα τὰς κατα-
 7 στάσεις ἀναπράττητε παρ' αὐτῶν. ἐμὲ τούννυν οὐδεὶς ἀν
 ἀποδεῖξειν οὗτ' ἀπενεχθέντα ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων οὔτε

ἡλθομεν on which the clause with *πρίν* depends. GMT. 658. For emphasis the date is given last, and *only five days before it*, otherwise *πρότερον* would as usual precede *πρίν*. On the dat., see G. 1184; H. 781.

5. **καιρόν**: *crisis*.—**ἔχοντες**: partic. in indir. disc. (G. 1588; H. 981), representing the impf. (G. 1289; H. 856 a), cf. xxiv. 8, λαμβάνων, and below, § 6, ἀποδημούντων.—**ἀλλὰ . . . τὸν δῆμον**: ‘No! their habit was to disenfranchise even their accomplices.’ Said with reference to the fate of Theramenes (cf. xii. 64 and 78) and others.

6. **σανίδιον**: ‘muster roll,’ see p. 75, note 13. — **εὐηθές**: see on xii. 87. — **ἵππεύειν**: impf. in time. G. 1285; H. 853 a. Cf. xii. 26. — **ἀποδημούντων**: not like *ὁμολογούντων* in time; see on *ἔχοντες*, § 5. — **ἐγγεγραμμένοι εἰσίν**: a technical term. Cf. xxvi. 10, ὡς *ἱππευκότος αὐτοῦ* ἐπὶ τῶν τριάκοντα

τοῦνομα ἐν ταῖς σανίδιαις ἐνεγέραττο and Ar. Eq. 1369, ὀπλίτης ἐντεθεὶς ἐν καταλόγῳ ἐγγεγράψεται. — **ἐκεῖνος**: ‘and now comes,’ the dem. calling attention to something new. H. 695 a. On the gender assimilated to that of the predicate, see H. 632 a, and cf. xii. 37. This is rare with *ἐκεῖνος*. — **κατήλθετε**: a technical word signifying a return from exile; see on xii. 97. We should use the plpf. G. 1281. — **τοὺς φυλάρχους ἀπενεγκεῖν**: the phylarchs (see p. 75, note 11) were to make a return, either directly to the people or through the *σύνδιοι*, of all who had served.—**καταστάσεις**: see p. 75, note 10. — **ἀναπράττητε**: *exact*, ‘get back.’ On the mood after a secondary tense, see G. 1369; H. 881 a. Cf. xii. 7 and 12, xxxi. 30. In such cases the practice of Lysias is about equally divided between the subjv. and opt. GMT. 320¹. See App.

παραδοθέντα τοῖς συνδίκοις. καίτοι πᾶσι ῥάδιον τοῦτο γνῶναι, ὅτι ἀναγκαῖον ἦν τοῖς φυλάρχοις, εἰ μὴ ἀποδείξειαν τοὺς ἔχοντας τὰς καταστάσεις, αὐτοῖς ζημιοῦσθαι. 40 ὥστε πολὺ ἀν δικαιότερον ἐκείνοις τοῖς γράμμασιν ἡ τούτοις πιστεύοιτε· ἐκ μὲν γὰρ τούτων ῥάδιον ἦν ἐξαλειφθῆναι τῷ βουλομένῳ, ἐν ἐκείνοις δὲ τοὺς ἵππεύσαντας ἀναγκαῖον ἦν ὑπὸ τῶν φυλάρχων ἀπενεχθῆναι. ἔτι δέ, ὡς βουλή, εἴπερ ἵππευσα, οὐκ ἀν. ἡ ἐξαρνος ὡς δεινόν τι πεποιηκώς, ἀλλ' ἡξίουν, ἀποδείξας ὡς οὐδεὶς ὑπ' ἐμοῦ τῶν πολιτῶν κακῶς πέπονθε, δοκιμάζεσθαι. ὁρῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμᾶς ταύτη τῇ γνώμῃ χρωμένους καὶ πολλοὺς μὲν τῶν τότε ἵππευσάντων βουλεύοντας, πολλοὺς δ' αὐτῶν στρατηγοὺς καὶ ἵππάρχους κεχειροτονημένους. ὥστε μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο 50 με ἡγεῖσθε ταύτην ποιεῖσθαι τὴν ἀπολογίαν ἡ ὅτι περιφανῶς ἐτόλμησάν μου καταψεύσασθαι. ἀνάβηθι δέ μοι καὶ μαρτύρησον.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

9 Περὶ μὲν τοίνυν ταύτης τῆς αἵτίας οὐκ οἶδ' ὁ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· δοκεῖ δέ μοι, ὡς βουλή, ἐν μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις

7. *συνδίκοις*: see p. 75, note 12. — *τοῦτο*: here refers forward. G. 1005; H. 698 a. — *ἐκείνοις*: the phylarchs' lists, not yet produced in evidence and therefore more remote, while *τούτοις* means the *σανδίοιν*, which had already been presented by the accusers. G. 1004; H. 695. — *ῥάδιον* ἦν: the list was perhaps posted or kept in a public place. Thus the *κατάλογος* (in which the Thirty kept making changes, Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 36. 2) was in the Senate house when Critias wiped out first Theramenes's name and then the man himself. See Xen.

Hellen. ii. 3. 51, ἐγώ οὖν, Κφη, Θηραμένην τούτοις ἐξαλειφω ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου. — *ἀναγκαῖον* ἦν: with acc. and inf. here, but with dat. and inf. above. See App.

8. *ἡξίουν*: *ἀν* is understood from above. G. 1314, cf. xii. 47, xxiv. 11. — *βουλεύοντας*: = *βουλευτὰς δῆτας*. On the law here violated, see p. 74, note 3. — *ἵππάρχους*: see p. 75, note 11. — *κεχειροτονημένους*: military officers were chosen by a show of hands, not by the lot. — *μαρτύρησον*: sc. to the facts in §§ 4-8.

9. This section serves as a transition and introduction to the main

τοῦ ἀγῶσι περὶ αὐτῶν μόνων τῶν κατηγορημένων προσήκειν ἀπολογεῖσθαι, ἐν δὲ ταῖς δοκιμασίαις δύκαιον εἶναι παντὸς τοῦ βίου λόγον διδόναι. δέομαι οὖν ὑμῶν μετ' εὐνοίας ἀκροάστασθαι μου. ποιήσομαι δὲ τὴν ἀπολογίαν ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι διὰ βραχυτάτων.

10. Ἐγὼ γὰρ πρῶτον μὲν οὐσίας μοι οὐ πολλῆς καταλειφθείσης διὰ τὰς συμφορὰς καὶ τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς καὶ τὰς τῆς πόλεως, δύο μὲν ἀδελφὰς ἔξεδῶκα, ἐπιδοὺς τριάκοντα μνᾶς ἑκατέρᾳ, πρὸς τὸν ἀδελφὸν δ' οὗτος ἐνειμάμην ὥστ' ἐκεῖνον πλέον ὁμολογεῖν ἔχειν ἐμοῦ τῶν πατρώων, καὶ εἴ πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἀπαντας οὗτος βεβίωκα ὥστε μηδεπώ-
11 ποτέ μοι μηδὲ πρὸς ἔνα μηδὲν ἔγκλημα γενέσθαι. καὶ τὰ μὲν ἔδια οὗτος διώκηκα· περὶ δὲ τῶν κοινῶν μοι μέγιστον ἡγοῦμαι τεκμήριον εἶναι τῆς ἐμῆς ἐπιεικείας, ὅτι τῶν νεωτέρων ὅσοι περὶ κύβους ή πότους ή τὰς τοιαύτας

part of the speech in which, having already disproved the charge, the speaker proceeds to show that he is a deserving person. Hence the request δέομαι οὖν κτλ., often found at the beginning of an oration, esp. in Demosthenes. — ὡς ἂν δύνωμαι: on the mood, see G. 1434; H. 916. — On the general nature of the δοκιμασία, see Introd. § 8.

10. πρῶτον μέν: first the speaker shows his unselfish behaviour towards his relations and others, summing up with τὰ μὲν ... διώκηκα. — τὰς τοῦ πατρὸς: see p. 76. — ἔξεδῶκα, ἐπιδούς: technical words, cf. xxxii. 8. Of the bride herself, ἐπιφέρεσθαι was used, cf. xix. 14, τὴν ἐμὴν μητέρα ἔλαβεν (*he married*) οὐδὲν ἐπιφερομένην (*without a dowry*). When a girl's father died, her brother be-

came her κύρος, and was obliged by law to maintain her and to provide a dowry on her marriage. Here, therefore, the speaker is making a virtue of necessity.—τριάκοντα μνᾶς: about \$540 (but see p. 206), an average dowry for one in moderate circumstances; cf. xxxii. 8, and Boeckh, *Staatsk.* I, p. 598. — ἐνειμάμην: cf. xxxii. 4. Daughters had no right of inheritance if a man left sons. — πρὸς τὸν κτλ.: *in my relations with.* See on xii. 23.—μηδεπώποτε... γενέσθαι: *there has never been any ground of complaint at all against me on the part of a single solitary man.* Cf. xxxii. 2, and see App.—μηδὲ πρὸς ἔνα: *ne unum quidem*, more emphatic than πρὸς μηδένα. See on xxxi. 30.

11. ἐπιεικεῖας: see on μετρίως, § 3. — κύβους: these, like the Roman

το ἀκολασίας τυγχάνουσι τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι, πάντας αὐτοὺς ὅφεσθε μοι διαφόρους ὄντας, καὶ πλεῖστα τούτους περὶ ἐμοῦ λογοποιοῦντας καὶ ψευδομένους. καίτοι δῆλον ὅτι, εἰ τῶν αὐτῶν ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, οὐκ ἀν τουαύτην γνώμην 12 εἰχον περὶ ἐμοῦ. ἔτι δ', ὡς βουλή, οὐδεὶς ἀν ἀποδεῖξαι το περὶ ἐμοῦ δύναμιο οὔτε δίκην αἰσχρὰν οὔτε γραφὴν οὔτε εἰσαγγελίαν γεγενημένην· καίτοι ἐτέρους ὄρατε πολλάκις εἰς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας καθεστηκότας. πρὸς τούνν τὰς στρατείας καὶ τοὺς κινδύνους τοὺς πρὸς τοὺς πολεμίους 13 σκέψασθε οἶνοι ἐμαυτὸν παρέχω τῇ πόλει. πρῶτον μὲν 80 γάρ, ὅτε τὴν συμμαχίαν ἐποίησασθε πρὸς Βοιωτοὺς καὶ εἰς Ἀλίαρτον ἔδει βοηθεῖν, ὑπὸ Ὁρθοβούλου κατειλεγ- μένος ἵππεύειν, ἐπειδὴ πάντας ἔώρων τοὺς μὲν ἵππεύουσιν

tesserae and our dice, had six sides, numbered from one to six, and three or two dice were used in the game.—τὰς διατριβὰς ποιούμενοι: with *περὶ* and acc., the only occurrence in Lysias of this common expression (Lutz, *Präpositionen*, p. 139). Cf. διατριβεῖν, xxiv. 20. — λογοποιοῦντας: 'cooking up stories,' see on xxii. 14 and cf. Theophr. *Char.* 8, ἡ δὲ λογοποιὰ ἐτῇ σύνθεσις ψευδῶν λόγων καὶ πράξεων ὡν βούλεται ὁ λογοποιῶν. — εἰ... ἐπεθυμοῦμεν: if we had the same tastes. For the augment, see on ἔξελησιάτε, xii. 73.

12. δίκην: in its special meaning of *private suit*, Introd. § 36.—αἰσχράν: e.g. if he had been accused of not portioning his sisters.—εἰσαγγελίαν: *impeachment*, see Introd. n. 167.—πολλάκις: emphatic, as is shown by its separation from καθεστηκότας. — τοίνυν: *besides*, cf. vii. 18.

13. πρῶτον μὲν: followed up by μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν in § 15. — τὴν συμμαχίαν: the alliance, still existing (hence the article), was effected in the autumn of 395 B.C., by Thrasybulus of Stiria and his namesake of Collytus. For a fragment of the treaty, still extant, see Hicks, *Greek Hist. Inscr.* p. 122 = CIA. II, 6. — Ἀλίαρτον: in Boeotia on Lake Copais. During the Corinthian war, in 395 B.C., an expedition was sent thither from Athens to help the Thebans against the Spartans. The latter were beaten and Lysander was killed before the Athenians arrived. Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 5. 17 ff. — Ὁρθοβούλος: phylarch of the speaker's tribe. The κατάλογος (cf. xxxii. 5), prepared by officers called καταλογεῖς (Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 49, 2), was brought before the Senate by the phylarchs and hipparchs for the δοκιμαστα. — δεῖν: depends on νομίζοντας. —

ἀσφάλειαν εἶναι δεῖν νομίζοντας, τοῖς δ' ὄπλίταις κίνδυνον
ἡγουμένους, ἐτέρων ἀναβάντων ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀδοκιμά-
στων παρὰ τὸν νόμον, ἐγὼ προσελθὼν ἔφην τῷ Ὁρθο-
βούλῳ ἔξαλεψάμενοι με ἐκ τοῦ καταλόγου, ἡγούμενος αἰσχρὸν
εἶναι τοῦ πλήθους μέλλοντος κινδυνεύειν ἀδειαν ἐμαυτῷ
παρασκευάσαντα στρατεύεσθαι. καὶ μοι ἀνάβηθι, Ὁρθό-
βούλε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

14 Συλλεγέντων τοίνυν τῶν δημοτῶν πρὸ τῆς ἔξόδου, εἰδὼς
αὐτῶν ἐνίους πολίτας μὲν χρηστοὺς ὄντας καὶ προθύμους,
ἔφοδίων δὲ ἀποροῦντας, εἴπον ὅτι χρὴ τοὺς ἔχοντας παρέ-
χειν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια τοῖς ἀπόρως διακειμένοις. καὶ οὐ μόνον
τοῦτο συνεβούλευον τοῖς ἄλλοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς ἔδωκα
τοῦν ἀνδροῦν τριάκοντα δραχμὰς ἐκατέρῳ, οὐχ ὡς πολλὰ
κεκτημένος, ἀλλ' ἵνα παράδειγμα τοῦτο τοῖς ἄλλοις γένη-
ται. καὶ μοι ἀνάβητε.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

15 Μετὰ ταῦτα τοίνυν, ὡς βουλή, εἰς Κόρινθον ἔξόδου γενο-

τοῖς ὄπλίταις κίνδυνον: sc. probably because Sparta's strength lay in her heavy infantry.—ἡγουμένους: nearly equivalent to νομίζοντας. Lysias was fond of synonymous words or phrases at the ends of contrasted clauses; cf. vii. 26; xii. 7, 48; xxiv. 18; xxxi. 17. — ἔφην: = ἔκελενος (cf. § 16) used thus in prose only here and in Xen. *Cyr.* iv. 6. 11, ἀ οἱ μάγοι ἔφασαν τοῖς θεοῖς ἔξελεῖν. See App. — κινδυνεύειν: on the tense, see G. 1254; H. 846.

14. συλλεγέντων: the Athenian was a citizen soldier enlisted and serving by tribe and deme. Cf. Isaeus, ii. 42,

ἐστράτευμα ἐν τῇ φυλῇ τῇ ἐκείνου καὶ
ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ. — ἔφοδίων: travelling expenses, funds, viaticum. The hoplites generally received two obols a day for pay (*μασθός*) and two for ration money (*σιτηρέσιον*), Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, 340; but the rich often helped poor members of their demes with money for equipments. See on xxxi. 15. — τοὺς ἔχοντας: the rich, cf. xxxii. 9. — γένηται: on the mood, cf. ἀναπάτηται, § 6, and on the tense, see G. 1272; H. 851.

15. εἰς Κόρινθον: i.e. the Corinthian war, 394 B.C., in which 6000 Athe-

μένης καὶ πάντων προειδότων ὅτι δεήσει κινδυνεύειν,
 100 ἑτέρων ἀναδυομένων ἐγὼ διεπραξάμην ὥστε τῆς πρώτης
 τεταγμένος μάχεσθαι τοῖς πολεμίοις· καὶ μάλιστα τῆς
 ἡμετέρας φυλῆς δυστυχησάσης καὶ πλείστων ἐναποθα-
 νόντων, ὕστερος ἀνεχώρησα τοῦ σεμνοῦ Στειριῶς τοῦ
 118 πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις δειλίαν ὀνειδικότος. καὶ οὐ πολλαῖς
 105 ἡμέραις ὕστερον μετὰ ταῦτα ἐν Κορίνθῳ χωρίων ἴσχυρῶν
 κατειλημμένων, ὥστε τοὺς πολεμίους μὴ δύνασθαι παριέ-
 ναι, Ἀγησιλάου δὲ εἰς τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἐμβαλόντος ψηφισα-
 μένων τῶν ἀρχόντων ἀποκληρώσαι τάξεις αἰτινες βοηθή-
 σουσι, — φοβουμένων ἀπάντων (εἰκότως, ὡς βουλή· δεινὸν
 110 γὰρ ἦν ἀγαπητῶς ὀλίγῳ πρότερον σεσωμένους ἐφ' ἔτερον

nians took part under Thrasybulus. Sparta won a victory at Nemea where the Athenian loss was heavy. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 2. 9-23. — *ὅτε μάχεσθαι*: on the mood, see G. 1450; H. 953. The same verb takes the obj. inf. in XIII. 72, *τὰ μέντοι δύματα διαπράττονται . . . προσγραφῆναι εἰς τὴν στήλην*. — *τῆς πρώτης*: sc. τάξεως, which here means *rank*, but cf. § 16. On the gen., see G. 1095, 1096; H. 732 a. — *δυστυχησάσης*: his tribe was therefore one of the six posted opposite to the Spartans, cf. Xen. *Hellen.* iv. 2. 19-22. — *ἐναποθανόντων*: the *ἐν-* refers to *δυστυχησάσης*, and means *ἐν τῇ δυστυχίᾳ*. Cf. Thuc. ii. 52, 3, *τὰ τε λεπά ἐν οἷς ἐσκήνωτο νεκρῶν πλεά ἦν*, *αὐτοῖς ἐναποθησκόντων* (sc. *ἐν τοῖς λεποῖς*), and Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 1. 4, quoted on p. 74. — *τοῦ σεμνοῦ Στειριῶς*: (See App.) Thrasybulus of the deme Stiria, the leader of the men of Phyle, is meant. On *σεμνός*, properly *reverend, majestic, augustus*,

but here used sarcastically, cf. Ar. *Ran.* 178, *ὦ σεμνὸς ὁ κατάρας, how airy the knave is!* Thrasybulus's overbearing manner won him the epithets *αἰθάδης* and *ὑπερβοτῆς τοῦ δήμου*, schol. Ar. *Eccl.* 203. — *πᾶσιν ἀνθρώπους*: without the article, *the whole world, everybody*. Cf. VII. 13; XII. 60; XXIV. 20; XXXI. 11; XXXII. 19. Mantitheus himself was evidently smarting.

16. *κατειλημμένων*: sc. by the Athenians and allies, to prevent the Spartans from joining Agesilaus who was returning from Asia by way of Phocis. — *ὅτε . . . παριέναι*: denotes purpose. G. 1452; H. 953 a. — *ἐμβαλόντος*: gives the reason for the action of the generals. G. 1563, 2; H. 953 a. — *τάξεις*: the body of infantry furnished by each tribe was called a *τάξις*. — *αἰτινες βοηθήσουσι*: denoting purpose, cf. XXIV. 6. G. 1442; H. 911. — *ἀγαπητῶς*: lit. *gladly*, as in Dem. XIX. 219, *τὴν εἰρήνην ἐποιήσασθ' ἀγαπητῶς*.

κίνδυνον ἰέναι) προσελθὼν ἐγὼ τὸν ταξίαρχον ἐκέλευον
 17 ἀκληρωτὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν τάξιν πέμπειν. ὡστ' εἰ τινες
 ὑμῶν ὀργίζονται τοῖς τὰ μὲν τῆς πόλεως ἀξιοῦσι πράτ-
 τειν, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδύνων ἀποδιδράσκουσιν, οὐκ ἀν δικαίως
 115 περὶ ἐμοῦ τὴν γνώμην ταύτην ἔχοιεν· οὐ γὰρ μόνον τὰ
 προσταττόμενα ἐποίουν προθύμως, ἀλλὰ καὶ κινδυνεύειν
 ἐτόλμων. καὶ ταῦτ' ἐποίουν οὐχ ὡς οὐ δεινὸν ἡγούμενος
 εἶναι Λακεδαιμονίοις μάχεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα, εἰ ποτε ἀδίκως
 εἰς κίνδυνον καθισταίμην, διὰ ταῦτα βελτίων ὑφ' ὑμῶν
 120 νομιζόμενος ἀπάντων τῶν δικαίων τυγχάνοιμι. καί μοι
 ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

18 Τῶν τοίνυν ἄλλων στρατειῶν καὶ φρουρῶν οὐδεμιᾶς
 ἀπελείφθην πώποτε, ἀλλὰ πάντα τὸν χρόνον διατετέλεκα
 μετὰ τῶν πρώτων μὲν τὰς ἔξόδους ποιούμενος, μετὰ τῶν
 125 τελευταίων δὲ ἀναχωρῶν. καίτοι χρὴ τοὺς φιλοτίμως καὶ
 κοσμίως πολιτευομένους ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων σκοπεῖν, ἀλλ'
 οὐκ εἰ τις κομῷ, διὰ τοῦτο μισεῖν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ τοιαῦτα

Hence, with the implication *too glad, = μᾶλις, barely, hardly*. See on ἀγαπήσειν, XII. 11.

17. ἀποδιδράσκουσι: this word, regularly implying something disgraceful, is applied to deserters, runaway slaves, etc.; cf. Plat. *Crit.* 53 D, ὡς γελοίως ἐκ τοῦ δεσμωτηρίου ἀπεδιδράσκεις (*what a funny time you had when you cleared out of the prison*) ... διφθέραν (*goatskin*) λαβὼν ἡ ἀλλασσαί δὴ εἰώθασιν ἐνσκευάζεσθαι οἱ ἀποδιδράσκοντες ('runaways').—Δῆν ἔχουεν: on the potential opt. after an indic. in prot. (G. 1421, 1; H. 901 b), cf. XXII. 18.—Ἴνα ... τυγχάνοιμι: a naïve

confession of the speaker's practical reason for patriotism.

18. ἀπελείφθην: *missed*. The preceding gen. is of separation. G. 1117; H. 748. — πώποτε, πάντα τὸν χρόνον: these words with the two verbs to which they belong are strongly contrasted by the chiastic order.—ποιούμενος: supplementary partic. with διατετέλεκα. G. 1580; H. 981.—κοσμίως: for the meaning, see on VII. 41.—σκοπεῖν: this verb, in the sense of 'form a judgment about,' is frequently used with ἐκ and the gen.; cf. § 19; VII. 13, 34.—κομῷ: *wears his hair long*, as Mantitheus appar-

ἐπιτηδεύματα οὔτε τοὺς ἴδιάτας οὔτε τὸ κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως βλάπτει, ἐκ δὲ τῶν κινδυνεύειν ἐθελόντων πρὸς τοὺς πολε-
18 μίους ἄπαντες ὑμεῖς ὀφελεῖσθε. ὥστε οὐκ ἄξιον ἀπ' ὄψεως, ὡς βουλή, οὔτε φιλεῦν οὔτε μισεῖν οὐδένα, ἀλλ' ἐκ τῶν ἔργων σκοπεῦν· πολλοὶ μὲν γὰρ μικρὸν διαλεγόμενοι καὶ κοσμίως ἀμπεχόμενοι μεγάλων κακῶν αἴτιοι γεγόνα-
σιν, ἔτεροι δὲ τῶν τοιούτων ἀμελοῦντες πολλὰ κάγαθὰ
185 ὑμᾶς εἰσιν εἰργασμένοι.

20 Ἡδη δέ τινων ἥσθόμην, ὡς βουλή, καὶ διὰ ταῦτα ἀχθο-
μένων μοι, ὅτι νεώτερος ὁν ἐπεχείρησα λέγειν ἐν τῷ δῆμῳ. ἔγὼ δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡναγκάσθην ὑπὲρ τῶν ἐμαυ-
τοῦ πραγμάτων δημηγορῆσαι, ἐπειτα μέντοι καὶ ἐμαυτῷ
140 δοκῶ φιλοτιμότερον διατεθῆναι τοῦ δέοντος, ἅμα μὲν τῶν προγόνων ἐνθυμούμενος ὅτι οὐδὲν πέπαυνται τὰ τῆς

ently did. After the Persian wars it was the fashion for Athenian boys on reaching the age of eighteen to cut off their hair and dedicate it to their patron divinities, afterwards wearing it short. But the knights and ultra-fashionable young men of Mantitheus's time wore it long, a Spartan fashion; hence those who followed it were suspected of being aristocrats and 'Laconizers.' — ἐκ τῶν θελόντων: the agent viewed as the *source*, hence not with ὥπο. G. 1209 c; H. 798 c. See App.

19. ἀπ' ὄψεως: *for his looks*, said with reference to κομῆ. Causal, see G. 1205 c; H. 794 c. — μικρὸν δια-
λέγομενοι: *though their tones are low*. The principle of moderation (see on § 3) was observed by Athenian gentlemen in voice, gait (*πρόστης πορεια*, Plut. *Pericl.* 5) and general bearing. According to Theophrastus, *Char.* 4,

μεγάλη τῇ φωνῇ λαλεῖν was a mark of *ἀρρενεῖα*. Cf. Dem. xxxvii. 52, Νικό-
βουλος δ' ἐπιφύνος ἔστι καὶ ταχέως βαδίζει καὶ μέγα φθέγγεται. — κοσμίως ἀμπεχόμενοι: *their mantles set decently*, a point on which much stress was laid. It looks as though Mantitheus had adopted a somewhat *dégradé* style.

20. Ἡδη: *before now*. — καὶ: *besides* the above reasons. — τινῶν: for the gen., see G. 1102; H. 742. — ἀχθομένων: supplementary partic. G. 1582; H. 982. — νεώτερος: at the age of eighteen every Athenian had full civic rights and could therefore speak in the assembly, but modesty should still restrain him; see the incident of Glaucon in Xen. *Mem.* iii. 6. — πραγμάτων: possibly in connexion with the *συμφοραὶ τοῦ πατρός*, § 10. — καὶ: emphasizes *ἐμαυτῷ*. — διατεθῆναι: of the inward disposition.

21 πόλεως πράττοντες, ἅμα δὲ ὑμᾶς ὄρῶν (τὰ γὰρ ἀληθῆ
χρὴ λέγειν) τοὺς τοιούτους μόνους ἀξίους τινὸς νομίζοντας
εἶναι· ὥστε ὄρῶν ὑμᾶς ταύτην τὴν γνώμην ἔχοντας τίς
145 οὐκ ἀν ἐπαρθείη πράττειν καὶ λέγειν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως; ἔτι
δὲ τί ἀν τοῖς τοιούτοις ἄχθοισθε; οὐ γὰρ ἔτεροι περὶ αὐ-
τῶν κριταί εἰσιν, ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς.

21. *τοὺς τοιούτους*: *i.e.* those who take part in public affairs. The Athenians little esteemed persons who neglected public duties. Cf. the words of Pericles, Thuc. ii. 40. 2, *τὸν τε μηδὲν τῶνδε (politics) μετέχοντα οὐκ ἀπράγματα ἀλλ' ἀχρέον νομίζομεν*, and Introd. § 6, end. — *ἀξίους τινὸς*: *deserving of any esteem at all.* For

this pregnant sense of *τις* see App. and H. 703 a, Kr. Spr. 51. 16. 13. — *κριταί*: the general term for persons with whom any decision rests; *δικασταί* could apply only to a legal issue. — *ἀλλ' ὑμεῖς*: this abrupt close is a good example of Lysias's power of suiting the speech to the speaker.

AGAINST THE GRAIN-DEALERS.

INTRODUCTION.

THE Athenian corn-laws were not the result of any theory of political economy, and had nothing to do with the question of free trade or protection.¹ They were due to the need of assuring a sufficient supply of food to a State which was unable to provide that food from its own soil. Attica was not a good agricultural country.² The olive³ and fig alone yielded profitable returns. Barley⁴ was the only really flourishing cereal; but the wheat crop was altogether inadequate to supply the demand. The population,⁵ numbering about half a million souls, was beyond all due proportion to the area of but little over 700 square miles (about half the area of Rhode Island, less than one-tenth of that of Massachusetts). Naturally, therefore, recourse was had abroad⁶ for food-stuffs, and Egypt, Sicily, Rhodes, Cyprus, and above all the fertile districts on the Pontus⁷ supplied the wants of Attica. Cargoes were constantly coming from these quarters; and besides the supplies provided by the ordinary course of commerce, it was a favourite practice with foreign rulers to win the good-will of the Athenian commons by presents of grain.⁸

The Athenians had a whole series of laws intended to prevent a scarcity of grain. Solon is said to have forbidden the export of any agricultural product except olive oil.⁹ While the export of grain

¹ On this general topic, see Büchsen-schütz, *Besitz und Erwerb*, p. 541; Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 65 ff.

In this introduction I have closely followed Frohberger.

² Thuc. i. 2. 5 calls Attica *λεπτόγυεων*, and Plutarch, *Solon*, 22, says τὰ πλεῖστα τῆς χώρας δύεται καὶ φαῦλα.

³ See Introd. to VII.

⁴ Theophr. *H. P.* viii. 8. 2.

⁵ Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 42.

⁶ Dem. xviii. 87.

⁷ Dem. xx. 31 f.

⁸ Dem. xx. 33.

⁹ Plut. *Solon*, 24; cf. Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 67.

grown in Attica was absolutely prohibited,¹⁰ its importation was encouraged, and even enforced so far as the power of the law could avail. Athenian citizens and metics were forbidden, under the severest penalties, to ship grain elsewhere than to Attica,¹¹ or to lend money on bottomry¹² to grain-merchants unless the cargo thus mortgaged was actually to be brought thither.¹³ The Piraeus was the central warehouse (*εμπόριον*) for the eastern part of the Mediterranean, and a law required that two-thirds of the cargo of every grain-ship which put in there must be carried to the city.¹⁴ One of the chief duties of the Athenian navy in time of war was to keep open the communications with the Pontus so as to ensure the safe delivery of grain.¹⁵ The Assembly, also, at one of its regular meetings in each prytany, considered the state of the grain supply.¹⁶ But the laws went even further into particulars. In order to prevent speculation and the artificial raising of the price of corn, retail dealers (*σιτοπώλαι*) were forbidden, on penalty of death, to buy more than fifty baskets (*φορμοί*¹⁷) at a time.¹⁸

¹⁰ Ulpian on Dem. *Tim.* p. 822 (§ 136).

¹¹ [Dem.] xxxiv. 37; xxxv. 50. Lycurg. 27.

¹² See on xxxii. 6.

¹³ [Dem.] xxxv. 50 f.

¹⁴ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 51. 4; Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 104; M. and S. p. 99; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 280. But for schemes of corn merchants to avoid this port, if grain was low here, *cf.* [Dem.] LVI. 8.

¹⁵ Dem. xviii. 87, 241, 301; l. 17; Xen. *Hellen.* v. 4. 61.

¹⁶ Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 43. 4; *cf.* Xen. *Mem.* iii. 6. 13.

¹⁷ A sort of wicker basket, perhaps holding about a medimnus (= 52.5 liters or a bushel and a half). See Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 104.

¹⁸ § 5 f. It was formerly believed, on the basis of § 8 where the Ms. has

δεῖν γάρ αὐτοὺς δρολῷ μόνον πωλεῖν τιμώτερον, that there was also a law forbidding dealers to sell at a profit of more than one obol on the medimnus. But such a law would have been next to impossible to enforce, and § 12 (*τῆς αὐτῆς ἡμέρας ἐπώλουν δραχμῇ τιμώτερον*) shows that no such law was enforced; nay, the speaker there does not even hint that the dealers were doing anything really *unlawful* in making a profit of a drachma. Hence Graux's insertion of *κάνειν* in § 8 has been generally accepted (see App. and Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 104). Yet, as Blass (*Att. Bereds.* I, p. 471) remarks, δεῖν is hardly consistent with the emendation. It seems probable to me that with Kocks we should reject the whole clause δεῖν... τιμώτερον as a marginal gloss. Wilamowitz.

The enforcement of these regulations was in the hands of a special board of magistrates, elected by lot, and called *σιτοφύλακες*.¹⁹ Of these officials Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 51. 3) says :

ἥσαν δὲ καὶ σιτοφύλακες κληρωτοί, πέντε μὲν εἰς Πειραιά, πέντε δὲ εἰς ἄστυ, νῦν δ' ἄκοσι²⁰ μὲν εἰς ἄστυ, πεντεκαΐδεκα δὲ εἰς Πειραιά. οὗτοι δὲ ἐπιμελοῦνται, πρῶτον μὲν ὅπως ὁ ἐν ἀγορᾷ σῖτος ἀργὸς ὄντος ἔσται δικαίως, ἐπειθ' ὅπως οἱ τε μυλωθροὶ πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν κριθῶν τὰ ἀλφίτα πωλήσονται καὶ οἱ ἀρτοπῶλαι πρὸς τὰς τιμὰς τῶν πυρῶν τοὺς ἄρτους, καὶ τὸν σταθμὸν ἀγοντας ὅσον ἀν οὗτοι ταξώσονται· ὁ γὰρ νόμος τούτους κελεύει τάπτειν.

From this passage and from our speech²¹ it would seem that there were ten of these officials in the time of Lysias. It was their duty to see that the unground (*ἀργός*) grain was offered at a fair price, that the millers sold barley meal at a price proportionate to that of barley, and that the bakers sold bread at a price proportionate to that of wheat and made loaves of a weight fixed by the *σιτοφύλακες*. They had also to keep a record of all importations of grain.²² Their duties, then, were of a prohibitory and restrictive sort, while the *σιτῶναι*, a committee appointed only on special occasions by a decree of the people, had the task of purchasing grain on an order from the State in time of war or scarcity, and of seeing that it was sold at a price fixed by law.²³

But speculation, whether in Athens or elsewhere, has never been prevented by legislation. The grain trade was the favourite business²⁴ of the great wholesale merchants (*ἐμπόροι*), while the retail dealers (*σιτοπῶλαι*²⁵), standing between the merchants and the con-

mowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 377, thinks that the words were part of the advice given to the dealers by Anytus, and that they contain merely a suggestion of his, not a law.

¹⁹ § 16. See Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 260.

²⁰ The reading is doubtful in the Ms., possibly *ε'* (= *πεντεκαΐδεκα*). For the old view of the number of these officers, see Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 105.

²¹ § 8.

²² Dem. *xx.* 32.

²³ Bock, *Schol. Hypomnem.* III, 257. The *ἀγοραῖμοι* (§ 16, Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 51. 1) had general charge of the market and saw that the wares sold there were pure and unadulterated.

²⁴ Xen. *Oec.* *xx.* 27 f.

²⁵ Metics as a rule (cf. § 5, Dem. *xxxiv.* 37) like most of the *κάτηλοι* (in itself rather a contemptuous term, cf. below, § 21, and Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 420).

sumers, were not slow to scheme against both. For instance, by an understanding with the merchants, they might evade the laws against the purchase of grain in bulk; or on the other hand, by combining with each other to prevent competition they could depress the price fixed by the merchants, and then, having bought in at a low figure, they would busy themselves in spreading some piece of bad news of a political sort which gave them an excuse for raising the price on retail sales. Such intrigues are described in the following speech of Lysias and in the oration against Dionysodorus falsely attributed to Demosthenes.²⁶ The *σιτοφύλακες* were often unable to control these illegalities, and were punished for their inaction or for their connivance with grain 'rings'.²⁷ As for the dealers, the popular feeling against them (which sometimes broke out in riots²⁸) made them an easy prey to 'sycophants'; and yet this very fact often protected them in wrong-doing, for any person who accused a grain-dealer laid himself open to the suspicion of 'sycophancy'.²⁹

Since to break the corn-laws was to commit a crime against the State, the proper method of procedure against the criminal was by an *εἰσαγγελία* or denunciation laid before the Prytanes, who brought it before the Senate.³⁰ An investigation (*κρίσις*, § 3) followed, to see whether a true bill could be found, and whether the Senate should settle the matter itself or refer it to a regular heliastic court.³¹ If it came before a court, the Thesmothetae presided,³² and the suit was *δρίμυητος*, the penalty being death.³³

The following speech was delivered before such a court by a senator who accuses a company³⁴ of *σιτοπώλαι* of illegal speculation. The Senate had been so exasperated when the case was first laid before it that some suggested that the accused should be executed without a trial; our senator by his moderation prevented such

²⁶ LVI. 7 ff.

³¹ § 2; [Dem.] XLVII. 41 ff.; M. and

²⁷ §§ 8, 16, 21; Dem. XXIV. 136.

S. p. 323.

²⁸ Philostratus, *Vit. Sophist.* i. 23. 1, p. 225. ²⁹ § 1.

³² Poll. viii. 87; Arist. *Resp. Ath.*

³⁰ § 2 f.; M. and S. pp. 69, 312, 319.

59. 2.

³³ §§ 5, 13, 19.

³⁴ See on § 5.

hasty action, and the case took its regular course. But the senator, having stood for the regular forms of law, now found it necessary to make a stand for his own reputation, and was obliged to attack the 'ring' lest he should be thought the tool of it.³⁵ The dealers confessed their action, but attempted to shift the blame upon the *σιτοφύλακες*.³⁶ The speaker shows that such a defence, if allowed, merely includes these magistrates among the guilty.³⁷ He next overthrows the pretext that the dealers had broken the law with a good purpose,— to supply the consumer with grain at the cheapest possible rate.³⁸ In conclusion, he holds that their confession makes it necessary to condemn them, and that they have no claim to mercy.³⁹ The short epilogue combines an appeal to justice with a personal argument likely to have influence with the judges.⁴⁰

This is the crisp, business-like speech of an earnest man who is merely engaged in doing his duty to the country and himself without having any personal grudge against the accused. It is well arranged and logical, and confined closely to the matter in hand. It is short, because there really could be no doubt about the facts; and it is almost bare of any rhetorical figures, for these would have been entirely out of place in such an address. On the date of its delivery nothing can be said with certainty. We must set it later than the beginning of the Corinthian war (394 B.C.), unless we are to suppose that the story that Spartans had seized Athenian grain-ships⁴¹ was a stock 'scare' good at any time. It has been thought, but it cannot be proved, that *στονδάς* in the same passage refers to the peace of Antalcidas (387 B.C.).⁴²

³⁵ §§ 2-4.

³⁶ § 5.

³⁷ §§ 11-16.

⁴⁰ § 22.

⁴² This peace is called *στονδαῖ* in

³⁷ §§ 6-10.

³⁹ §§ 17-21.

⁴¹ § 14.

Xen. *Hellen.* v. 1. 33, and just before the date of it the grain-ships in the Pontus had been stopped by Antalcidas (Xen. *ibid.* 28); hence perhaps the dearness mentioned in § 8.

ΚΑΤΑ ΤΩΝ ΣΙΤΟΠΩΛΩΝ.

1 Πολλοί μοι προσεληνύθασιν, ὃ ἀνδρες δικασταί, θαυμάζοντες ὅτι ἔγω τῶν σιτοπωλῶν ἐν τῇ βουλῇ κατηγόρουν καὶ λέγοντες ὅτι ὑμεῖς, εἰ ὡς μάλιστα αὐτοὺς ἀδικεῖν ἥγεῖσθε, οὐδὲν ἥπτον καὶ τοὺς περὶ τούτων ποιουμένους δτοὺς λόγους συκοφαντεῖν νομίζετε. ὅθεν οὖν ἡνάγκασμα κατηγορεῖν αὐτῶν, περὶ τούτων πρῶτον εἰπεῖν βούλομαι.

2 Ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἀπέδοσαν εἰς τὴν βουλὴν περὶ αὐτῶν, οὐτως ὡργίσθησαν αὐτοῖς, ὥστε ἐλεγόν τινες τῶν ῥητόρων ὡς ἀκρίτους αὐτοὺς χρὴ τοὺς ἐνδεκα παραδοῦναι θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι. ἥγοιμενος δὲ ἔγω δεινὸν εἶναι τοιαῦτα ἐθύμεσθαι ποιεῖν τὴν βουλὴν, ἀναστὰς εἶπον ὅτι

1. θαυμάζοντες: *sc.* because he had at first (§ 2) seemed to side with the dealers. Hence ἔγω, emphatic. For *ὅτι* instead of the usual *εἰ* after *θαυμάζω*, see G. 1424, and on VII. 7. — *εἰ ὡς μάλιστα κτλ.*: ‘no matter how guilty.’ Cf. § 10 and Plat. *Euthyphro*, 4 D, *εἰ* *ὅτι μάλιστα ἀπέκτεινεν*, and see H. 651. — *καὶ τοὺς*: even those, see p. 92. — *ποιουμένους τοὺς λόγους*: see on XII. 2. — *συκοφαντεῖν*: see on VII. 38.

2. οἱ πρυτάνεις: see Gow, p. 116; Hermann, *Staatsalt.*, p. 488; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 271. The *εἰσαγγελία* would be laid first before them as executive committee of the Senate. — *ἀπέδοσαν κτλ.*: the technical

phrase, *cf. referre ad senatum.* — ὡργίσθησαν: *sc. οἱ βουλευταὶ* from βουλὴν. See on *αὐτῶν*, XII. 37. — *τῶν ῥητόρων*: not necessarily professional orators, but often merely persons in the habit of speaking publicly. See on XXXI. 27, and *cf.* Plat. *Ap.* 32 B, *ἐτοίμων διτῶν ἐνδεικνύναι με καὶ ἀπάγειν τῶν ῥητόρων*. — *ἀκρίτους*: on the illegality, see on XII. 17. — *τοὺς ἐνδεκα*: they had charge of the prisons and of executions. See Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 256. — θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι: the infin. of purpose. GMT. 772 a. Cf. XIII. 68, *καὶ καταγγένετες αὐτοῦ θάνατον ἀποτυπανίσαι παρέδοτε*, *Dinarch.* II. 20, *παραδοῦναι τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῦτο τεταγμένους θανάτῳ ζημιώσαι*. —

μοι δοκοίη κρίνειν τοὺς σιτοπώλας κατὰ τὸν νόμον, νομίζων, εὐ μέν εἰσιν ἄξια θανάτου εἰργασμένοι, ὑμᾶς οὐδὲν ἥττον ἡμῶν γνώσεσθαι τὰ δίκαια, εἰ δὲ μηδὲν ἀδικοῦσιν, 3 οὐ δεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀκρίτους ἀπολωλέναι. πεισθείσης δὲ τῆς βουλῆς ταῦτα, διαβάλλειν ἐπεχείρουν με λέγοντες ὡς ἔγω σωτηρίας ἔνεκα τῆς τῶν σιτοπωλῶν τοὺς λόγους τούτους ἐποιούμην. πρὸς μὲν οὖν τὴν βουλήν, ὅτ' ἦν αὐτοῖς ἡ κρίσις, ἔργῳ ἀπελογησάμην· τῶν γὰρ ἄλλων ἡσυχίαν 20 ἀγόντων ἀναστὰς αὐτῶν κατηγόρουν, καὶ πᾶσι φανερὸν ἐποίησα ὅτι οὐχ ὑπὲρ τούτων ἔλεγον, ἀλλὰ τοῖς νόμοις 4 τοῖς κειμένοις ἐβοήθουν. ἡρξάμην μὲν οὖν τούτων ἔνεκα, δεδιώς τὰς αἰτίας· αἰσχρὸν δ' ἥγοῦμαι πρότερον παύσασθαι, πρὶν ἀν ὑμεῖς περὶ αὐτῶν ὅ τι ἀν βούλησθε ψηφίζειν σησθε.

5 Καὶ πρῶτον μὲν ἀνάβητε. εἰπὲ σὺ ἐμοί, μέτοικος εἰ; Ναί. Μετοικεῖς δὲ πότερον ὡς πεισόμενος τοῖς νόμοις τοῖς τῆς πόλεως, ἡ ὡς ποιήσων ὅ τι ἀν βούλη; Ως πει-

κατὰ τὸν νόμον: i.e. before a regular court after the *κρίσις* (§ 3).

3. ἐποιούμην: *had made*. This and the following impfs. *ἔλεγον* and *ἐβοήθουν* could not be changed to the present opt. without danger of obscurity in the sense. G. 1488; H. 935 b. — πρός: not *against*, as in xii. 38, but in a local sense, *before*, *to*. Cf. xiii. 49, *θαυμάζω ... δι τι ποτὲ τολμήσει πρός ὑμᾶς ἀπολογεῖσθαι*. — ἡ *κρίσις*: the hearing before the Senate (cf. § 11), held to see whether that body could settle the case itself and mete out the appropriate penalty, or should send it on to a court. It corresponds therefore to the *ἀνάκρισις* (see Introd. § 47). — ἄλλων: i.e. the *ἡγεμονεῖς* of § 2.

— κειμένοις: for the meaning, see on xxi. 23.

4. ἡρξάμην: *sc. in the Senate*. — τὰς αἰτίας: *their charges*, referring to διαβάλλειν, § 3. — πρὶν ἀν ... ψηφίσησθε: the leading clause has a negative force, hence the subjv. GMT. 647. So *αἰσχρὸν* in Plat. *Prot.* 352 D, *αἰσχρὸν ἔστι καὶ ἐμοὶ σοφιαν καὶ ἐπιστήμην μὴ οὐχί* (on account of the preceding negative idea) *πάντων κράτιστον φάναι εἶναι*.

5. On the *ἔρωτησις*, see Introd. § 48, and cf. xii. 25. — ἀνάβητε: plural as addressed to the whole ring. Cf. *ψεύδονται*, § 7; *οὐτοί*, § 8; *συνιστασθαι*, § 17; *τούτων*, § 22. See App. — σύ: addressed to the leader. —

σόμενος. Ἀλλο τι οὖν ἀξιοῖς ἀποθανεῖν, εἴ τι πεποίηκας
30 παρὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐφ' οἷς θάνατος ἡ ζημία; Ἐγωγε.
Ἄποκριναι δή μοι, εἰ διολογεῖς πλείω σήτον συμπρίασθαι
πεντήκοντα φορμῶν, ὃν ὁ νόμος ἔξειναι κελεύει; Ἐγὼ
τῶν ἀρχόντων κελειόντων συνεπριάμην.

8 Ἀν μὲν τούννυν ἀποδείξῃ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ώς ἔστι
35 νόμος ὃς κελεύει τοὺς σιτοπάλας συνωνεῖσθαι τὸν σῆτον,
ἄν οἱ ἀρχοντες κελεύωσιν, ἀποιηθίσασθε· εἰ δὲ μή,
δίκαιον ὑμᾶς καταψήφίσασθαι. ἡμεῖς γὰρ ὑμῖν παρεσχό-
μεθα τὸν νόμον, ὃς ἀπαγορεύει μηδένα τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει
πλείω σήτον πεντήκοντα φορμῶν συνωνεῖσθαι.

7 Χρῆν μὲν τούννυν, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, ίκανην εἶναι ταύ-
την τὴν κατηγορίαν, ἐπειδὴ οὗτος μὲν διολογεῖ συμπρί-
ασθαι, ὃ δὲ νόμος ἀπαγορεύων φαίνεται, ὑμεῖς δὲ κατὰ
τοὺς νόμους ὀμωμόκατε ψηφιεῖσθαι· ὅμως δ' ἵνα πεισθῆτε
ὅτι καὶ κατὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων ψεύδονται, ἀνάγκη καὶ μακρό-
8 τερον εἰπεῖν περὶ αὐτῶν. ἐπειδὴ γὰρ οὗτοι τὴν αἰτίαν εἰς
ἔκείνους ἀνέφερον, παρακαλέσαντες τοὺς ἀρχοντας ἡρω-
τῶμεν. καὶ οἱ μὲν τέτταρες οὐδὲν ἔφασαν εἰδέναι τοῦ

ἄλλο τι: on the phrase, without *ἥ*,
see App. and G. 1604; H. 1015 b. —

ἐφ' οἷς: for which, the relative re-
ferring κατὰ σύνεσιν to *τι*, which has,
as often, a collective force (= *τι*
τοιωτών). Cf. III. 48, εἰ τι πάθοιμ
ών Σίμων βούλεται, and see H. 633,
609, 615; Kr. Spr. 58, 4, 5. But
Lutz, Präd. p. 110, refers *οἷς* (denot-
ing the *ground*) to *νόμους*. — συμπρί-
ασθαι: *brought up*; cf. Arist. Pol. i.
II. 11, ἐν Σικελίᾳ δέ τις . . . συνετρίατο
τάντα τὸν σιδηρὸν ἐκ τῶν σιδηρέων. —
Ἐγὼ τῶν ἀρχόντων κτλ.: Eratosthenes
similarly dodges a direct answer in

xii. 25. The ἀρχοντες are here the
σιτοφύλακες.

6. παρεσχόμεθα: the law was put
in with the other papers accompanying
the γραφή, or written indictment.

7. ὀμωμόκατε: sc. in the dicasts'
oath. Cf. Aeschin. III. 6, δ νομοθέτης
τοῦτο πρῶτον ἔταξεν ἐν τῷ τῶν δικαστῶν
δρκῷ· ψηφιοῦμαι κατὰ τοὺς νόμους. —
καὶ μακρότερον: see App.

8. εἰς . . . ἀνέφερον: see on xii. 81.
— ἡρωτῶμεν: sc. at the κρίσις, § 3. — οἱ
τέτταρες: for the article, see on
xxxii. 21. — οὐδὲν εἰδέναι τὸν πράγ-
ματος: the same phrase occurs in

πράγματος, "Ανυτος δ' ἔλεγεν ὡς τοῦ προτέρου χειμῶνος, ἐπειδὴ τίμιος ἦν ὁ σῖτος, τούτων ὑπερβαλλόντων ἀλλή-
τολους καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς μαχομένων, συμβουλεύσειεν
αὐτοῖς παύσασθαι φιλονεικοῦσιν, ἥγονύμενος συμφέρειν
ὑμῖν τοῖς παρὰ τούτων ὀνουμένοις ὡς ἀξιώτατον τούτους
πρίασθαι· δεῖν γὰρ αὐτοὺς κανὸν ὀβολῷ μόνον πωλεῖν
θιμιώτερον. . ὡς τούννυν οὐ συμπριαμένους καταθέσθαι
το ἐκέλευεν αὐτούς, ἀλλὰ μὴ ἀλλήλοις ἀντωνεῖσθαι συνεβού-
λευεν, αὐτὸν ὑμῖν "Ανυτον μάρτυρα παρέξομαι, καὶ ὡς
οὗτος μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς προτέρας βουλῆς τούτους εἶπε τοὺς
λόγους, οὗτοι δὲ τῆτες συνωνούμενοι φαίνονται.

XIII. 71, *cf.* I. 42.—**Ανυτος**: one of the σιτοφίλακες of the year before. There is no evidence that he was the Anytus who accused Socrates.—**ὑπερβαλλόντων**: *trying to outbid*. *Cf.* And. I. 134, ἐτελ δ' οὐκ ἀντωνεῖτο οὐδεὶς, παρελθὼν ἐγὼ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπερβαλλον. — **πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς** := πρὸς ἀλλήλους. On this use of the reflexive for the reciprocal pronoun, here perhaps employed for variety, see G. 996, H. 686 b, and *cf.* XIV. 42, παρανόμως καὶ πρὸς τοὺς ἀλλούς πολιτευμένους καὶ πρὸς σφᾶς αὐτοὺς διακείμενοι. — **φιλονεικοῦσιν**: on the case, *cf.* XII. I. — **όνουμένοις** and **πρίασθαι**: observe the difference in tense. — **ἀξιώτατον**: the Attic idiomatic use of ἀξιος in the sense of *cheap*. *Cf.* § 22 and Ar. *Eq.* 645, οὐτώνοτος ἀφίνας (*sprats*) εἶδον ἀξιωτέρας, *Moeris*, p. 56, ἀξιωτέρας, *Ἀττικῶς*· εἰωνοτέρας, *Ἐλληνικῶς*. — **κανὸν ὀβολῷ μόνον**: *if only by a single obol*, *i.e.* they must make some profit, however little. On the use of καν without a verb, see GMT. 228. But the whole sentence may be an interpolation. See App.

9. **καταθέσθαι**: *lay or hoard it away*, common in this sense. *Cf.* Xen. *Anab.* I. 3, 3, οὐς (sc. μυρίους δαρεικοὺς) ἔγω λαβὼν οὐκ εἰς τὸ ἔδιον κατεθέμην ἐμοι, and its use with that of **παρακαταθήκη** in XXXII. 16. The dealers distorted the advice of Anytus, which was not that they should buy up corn and store it away to sell high at a time of scant supply, but that they should stop running up the price (ἀντωνεῖσθαι, below, *ὑπερβαλλόντων*, § 8) in the wholesale market and thus be able to sell cheaper at retail, though still with profit to themselves. — **ἐπὶ**: of time, a new Senate being chosen annually. — **καὶ ὡς . . . φαίνονται**: see App. — **τῆτες**: *cf.* Harp. 3. v. **τῆτες**: ἀντὶ τοῦ τοτέφ τῷ ἔτει Λυστας ἐν τῇ πρὸς Πιθεδημον ἀπολογίᾳ, εἰ γνήσιος, Ἀριστοφάνης Γήρα καὶ οἱ ἄλλοι. Used also in Ar. *Ach.* 15, *Vesp.* 400. On the form, from the pronominal stem *tia* (like *τήμερος*), see Smyth, *Greek Dialects*, I, § 369. — **συνωνούμενοι**: *impf. in time*; see on XVI. 5.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

10 Ὄτι μὲν τοίνυν οὐχ ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχόντων κελευσθέντες
εοσυνεπρίαντο τὸν σῖτον, ἀκηκόατε· ἥγοῦμαι δ', ἀν̄ ὡς μά-
λιστα περὶ τούτων ἀλληθῆ λέγωσιν, οὐχ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸν αὐτὸν
ἀπολογήσεσθαι, ἀλλὰ τούτων κατηγορήσειν· περὶ γὰρ
ῶν εἰσὶ νόμοι διαρρήδην γεγραμμένοι, πῶς δὲ χρὴ διδόναι
δίκην καὶ τοὺς μὴ πειθομένους καὶ τοὺς κελεύοντας τού-
τοις τάναντία πράττειν;

11 Ἀλλὰ γάρ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, οἴομαι αὐτὸν ἐπὶ μὲν
τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ἐλεήσεσθαι· ἵστως δὲ ἐροῦσιν, ὥσπερ
καὶ ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὡς ἐπ' εὐνοίᾳ τῆς πόλεως συνεωνούντο
τὸν σῖτον, ἵν' ὡς ἀξιώτατον ὑμῖν πωλοῦεν. μέγιστον δὲ
τούμην ἔρω καὶ περιφανέστατον τεκμήριον ὅτι ψεύδονται.

12 ἐχρῆν γὰρ αὐτούς, εἴπερ ὑμῶν ἔνεκα ἐπραττον ταῦτα, φαί-
νεσθαι τῆς αὐτῆς τιμῆς πολλὰς ἡμέρας πωλοῦντας, ἔως ὁ
συνεωνημένος αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπε· νῦν δὲ ἐνίστε τῆς αὐτῆς
ἡμέρας ἐπώλουν δραχμῇ τιμιώτερον, ὥσπερ κατὰ μεδι-
75 μονον συνωνούμενοι. καὶ τούτων ὑμᾶς μάρτυρας παρέ-
χομαι.

10. ἀν̄ ὡς μάλιστα: see on § 1. —
τούτων: sc. τῶν ἀρχόντων.

11. ἀλλὰ γάρ: see on xii. 99. —
ἐπὶ μὲν τούτῳ ... ἐλεήσεσθαι: cf. Dem.
LVII. 45, πολλὰ δουλικὰ τράγματα τοὺς
ἐλευθέρους ἡ πενία βιάζεται ποιεῖν, ἐφ'
οἰς ἐλεέσοντ' ἄν, and for the fut. mid.
as pass., see on XXXI. 26. See App.
—ἐν τῇ βουλῇ: i.e. at the *κρίσις*,
§ 3.

12. ἐπραττον: observe the tense,
denoting repeated action, like that
of πωλοῦντας. — ἔως αὐτὸν ἐπέλιπε:
until it had failed them, a secondary

tense of the indic. (GMT. 613, 2) on
account of ἐχρῆν, for which see on
xii. 32. — ὥσπερ κατὰ μέδιμνον: they
had bought it in bulk, and hence
could have afforded to sell it all
at one price; but instead they often
put up the price as if they had
bought in small quantities and in a
short market. On ὥσπερ with the
partic., see App. to xii. 7. This dis-
tributive use of κατά occurs here first
in the orators. Lutz, *Präp.* p. 78. —
ὑμᾶς μάρτυρας: see App. and on
xii. 74.

13 Δεινὸν δέ μοι δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ δταν μὲν εἰσφορὰν εἰσενεγκεῖν δέη, ήν πάντες εἴσεσθαι μέλλουσιν, οὐκ ἐθέλουσιν, ἀλλὰ πενίαν προφασύονται, ἐφ' οῖς δὲ θάνατός ἐστιν ἡ ζημία καὶ λαθεῖν αὐτοῖς συνέφερε, ταῦτα ἐπ' εύνοιᾳ φασὶ τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ παρανομῆσαι. καίτοι πάντες ἐπίστασθε ὅτι τούτοις ἥκιστα προσήκει τοιούτους ποιεῖσθαι λόγους. τάνατία γάρ αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις συμφέρει. τότε γάρ πλεύστα κερδαίνουσιν, ὅταν κακοῦ τινος ἀπαγγελθέντος 14 τῇ πόλει τίμιον τὸν σίτον πωλῶσιν. οὐτω δ' ἄσμενοι τὰς συμφορὰς τὰς ὑμετέρας ὄρωσιν, ὥστε τὰς μὲν πρότεροι τῶν ἄλλων πυνθάνονται, τὰς δ' αὐτοὶ λογοποιοῦσιν, ἡ τὰς ναῦς διεφθάρθαι τὰς ἐν τῷ Πόντῳ ἡ ὑπὸ Λακεδαιμονίων ἐκπλεούστας συνειλῆφθαι, ἡ τὰ ἐμπόρια κεκλῆσθαι, ἡ τὰς. 15 σπουδὰς μέλλειν ἀπορρηθήσεσθαι, καὶ εἰς τοῦτ' ἔχθρας ἐληλύθασιν, ὥστ' ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καιροῖς ἐπιβουλεύοντες νήμην, ἐν οἰστπερ οἱ πολέμοι. ὅταν γάρ μάλιστα σίτου τυγχάνητε δεόμενοι, ἀναρπάζουσιν οὐτοι καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλουσι

13. *εἰσφοράν*: see on xii. 20. — *πάντες κτλ.*: hence this would be an excellent opportunity for showing patriotism (*εὐνοία*). — *οὐκ θέλουσιν*: for the negative *οὐ*, not *μή*, see on xxxi. 31. — *λαθεῖν*: from our English idiom we should expect *δ* with this verb, but *cf.* § 21, and see on xxxii. 27. — *συνέφερε*: without *δν*, see on xii. 32. — *τῇ ὑμετέρᾳ*: instead of the obj. gen. G. 999; H. 694. — *τάνατία γάρ κτλ.*: hence they are bad citizens (*cf.* Dem. xviii. 198, quoted on § 15), while conversely a good citizen's interests are those of his country. *Cf.* xxxi. 5.

14. *λογοποιούσιν*: the regular word used of a *canard*. See on xvi. 11, and

cf. And. 1. 54, ἀ ἐλογοποίουν οι ἔχθροι περὶ ἑμοῦ, βουλόμενοι διαβάλλειν με, Dem. vi. 14, λογοποιοῦσιν πειρώντες τινές. — *τὰς ναῦς*: the grain-ships are meant. — *διεφθάρθαι*: *cf.* [Dem.] lvi. 34, σωθείσης τε τῆς νεὼς καὶ οὐ διεφθαρμένης. — *κεκλῆσθαι*: *blockaded*, *cf.* Dem. ii. 16, κεκλεψέντων τῶν ἐμπορίων τῶν ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ διὰ τὸν πόλεμον. — *τὰς σπουδὰς*: see p. 93.

15. *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς καιροῖς*: *cf.* Dem. xviii. 198, ὅτῳ συνενηρόχασιν οι αὐτοὶ καιροὶ καὶ τοῦς τῆς πόλεως ἔχθροῖς, οὐκ ἐν τοῖς τούτοις εἴνουσι εἶναι τῇ πατρίδι. — *ἀναρπάζουσιν*: *snap it up*, a word often used of stealing or pillage, *cf.* Hom. Od. xv. 427, ἀλλά μ' ἀνήρπαξαν (*kidnapped*) Τάφιοι, ληστορεῖς ἀνδρεῖς,

πωλεῖν, ἵνα μὴ περὶ τῆς τιμῆς διαφερώμεθα, ἀλλ’ ἀγαπῶ-
ς μεν ἀν δόποσουτινοσοῦν πριάμενοι παρ’ αὐτῶν ἀπέλθωμεν·

ώστ’ ἐνίστε εἰρήνης οὔσης ὑπὸ τούτων πολιορκούμεθα.
18 οὕτω δὲ πάλαι περὶ τῆς τούτων πανουργίας καὶ κακονοίας
ἡ πόλις ἔγνωκεν, ὡστ’ ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἄλλοις ὀνίοις ἀπασι
τοὺς ἀγορανόμους φύλακας κατεστήσατε, ἐπὶ δὲ ταύτη
100 μόνῃ τῇ τέχνῃ χωρὶς σιτοφύλακας ἀποκληροῦτε· καὶ
πολλάκις ἥδη παρ’ ἐκείνων πολιτῶν ὅντων δύκην τὴν
μεγίστην ἐλάβετε, ὅτι οὐχ οἷοί τ’ ἡσαν τῆς τούτων πονη-
ρίας ἐπικρατήσαι. καίτοι τί χρὴ αὐτοὺς τοὺς ἀδικοῦντας
ὑφ’ ὑμῶν πάσχειν, ὅπότε καὶ τοὺς οὐ δυναμένους φυλάτ-
105 τειν ἀποκτείνετε;

17 Ἐνθυμεῖσθαι δὲ χρὴ ὅτι ἀδύνατον ὑμῖν ἐστιν ἀποψηφί-
σασθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἀπογνώσεσθε ὁμολογούντων αὐτῶν ἐπὶ
τοὺς ἐμπόρους συνίστασθαι, δόξεθ’ ὑμεῖς ἐπιβουλεύειν
τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν. εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλην τινὰ ἀπολογίαν

Χεπ. Απαδ. i. 3. 14, οἱ Κιλικες . . . ὡν
πολλοὶς καὶ τολλὰ χρήματα ἔχομεν
ἀνηρπακότες. — διαφερώμεθα: *bicker, haggle.* Cf. x. 7, ἡγὼ δ’ οἷμαι δεῖν
ὑμᾶς . . . οὐ περὶ τῶν δρυμάτων διαφέ-
ροσθαι, ἀλλὰ τῆς τούτων διανολας (*mean-
ing*). — ἀγαπῶμεν: see on xii. 11. —
δόποσουτινοσοῦν: see on xii. 84. —
ἀπέλθωμεν: ‘get off’; on the tense as
compared with διαφερώμεθα, see App.
to xvi. 6. — πολιορκούμεθα: ‘we are
kept in a state of siege.’

16. πάλαι ἔγνωκεν: *has long known*,
this perfect being equivalent (G. 1263; H. 849) to a present with
πάλαι. G. 1258; H. 826. — ἀγορα-
νόμους: on these officers see p. 91,
note 23; on the *σιτοφύλακες* see p. 91.
— τέχνη: a general term, including

our ‘business’ as well as ‘trade’ and
‘profession.’ Thus Lysias uses it
also of a fuller, xxiii. 7, a perfumer,
frag. i. § 2 (quoted on xxiv. 20), a
stonemason, *frag.* 69, and of the
cripple’s employment, xxiv. 4. It
is used of a physician in Hdt. iii. 131.
— χωρὶς: *by itself*. — πολλάκις θλά-
βετε: for the tense, see on xii. 3. —
ἥδη: *before now*, cf. § 18. — πολιτῶν
ὅντων: in contrast with grain-dealers
who were generally metics. A log-
ically unjust though characteristic
appeal to the sympathies of the
court. — ἀποκτείνετε: cf. *ἀπέθνησκον*,
§ 21.

17. συνίστασθαι: often used of a
political ‘combine,’ as in xxx. 10,
Κλεοφῶν τὴν βουλὴν ἐλοιδόρει, φάσκων

110 ἐποιοῦντο, οὐδεὶς ἀν εἶχε τοῖς ἀποιηφισαμένοις ἐπιτιμᾶν·
 ἐφ' ὑμῖν γὰρ ὅποτέροις βούλεσθε πιστεύειν· τῦν δὲ πῶς
 οὐ δεινὰ ἀν δόξαιτε ποιεῖν, εἰ τοὺς ὁμολογοῦντας παρα-
 118 νομεῖν ἀζημίους ἀφήσετε; ἀναμηήσθητε δέ, ὃ ἄνδρες
 δικασταί, ὅτι πολλῶν ἥδη ἔχόντων ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν,
 119 ἀρνουμένων καὶ μάρτυρας παρεχομένων, θάνατον κατέ-
 γνωτε, πιστοτέρους ἡγησάμενοι τοὺς τῶν κατηγόρων
 λόγους. καίτοι πῶς ἀν οὐ θαυμαστὸν εἶη, εἰ περὶ τῶν
 αὐτῶν ἀμαρτημάτων δικάζοντες μᾶλλον ἐπιθυμεῖτε παρὰ
 120 τῶν ἀρνουμένων δύκην λαμβάνειν; καὶ μὲν δή, ὃ ἄνδρες
 δικασταί, πᾶσιν ἡγοῦμαι φανερὸν εἶναι ὅτι οἱ περὶ τῶν
 τοιούτων ἀγῶνες κοινότατοι τυγχάνουσιν ὅντες τοῖς ἐν τῇ
 πόλει, ὅστε πεύσονται ἥντινα γνώμην περὶ αὐτῶν ἔχετε,
 ἡγούμενοι, ἀν μὲν θάνατον τούτων καταγνῶτε, κοσμιωτέ-
 ρους ἔσεσθαι τοὺς λοιπούς· ἀν δ' ἀζημίους ἀφῆτε, πολ-

συνεστάναι καὶ οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύειν
 τῇ πόλει, or, as here, of a 'corner,'
 cf. § 21. The retail dealers must
 have stocked up and then refused to
 buy, except at their own price, from
 the importers. Such a 'ring' would
 keep grain-ships away from Athens.
 — *τοῖς εἰσπλέοντιν*: i.e. *τοῖς ἐμπόροις*,
 as in § 21. — *ἄλλην*: i.e. other than
 their admission that they bought up
 grain, but only at the suggestion of
 the magistrates. — *όποτέροις*: either
 party, plaintiff or defendant. — *ἄν δόξαιτε, ... εἰ ἀφήσετε*: on the mixed
 form of condition, see G. 1421, 2;
 H. 901.

18. *ἥδη*: see on § 16. — *ἔχόντων*
 ... *αὐτῶν*: charged with the same
 thing. Cf. XIII. 62, οὐδεμίαν *αὐτῶν*
αἰσχρὰν ἔσχον, Xen. *Anab.* vii. 6. 11,
 ἔγώ τον ὅφ' ὑμῶν *αὐτῶν* *ἔχω*. — *ἴτιν-*

μέτε: for the mixed form of condition,
 see on xvi. 17, and cf. Ant.
 III. γ. 9, *πῶς ἀν πρέποντα πάσχομεν*,
εἰ ... θανάτῳ ζημιούμεθα; Plat. *Apol.*
 25 B, *πολλὴ γὰρ ἀν τις εὐδαιμονία εἴη*
περὶ τοὺς νέους, εἰ εἰς μὲν μόνος αὐτοὺς
διαφθέρει. — παρὰ τῶν ἀρνουμένων:
 the antithesis *ἡ παρὰ τῶν ὁμολογούντων* is easily understood from the
 context. See App.

19. *κοινότατοι*: of the most general
 interest, cf. Isocr. v. 10, *νομίσας οὐ-
 δέποτε ἀν εὐρεθῆναι καλλίω ταύτης ὑπό-
 θεσιν (idea) οὐδὲ κοινοτέραν οὐδὲ μᾶλλον*
*πασιν ἡμῖν συμφέρουσαν. — ὅστε πεύ-
 σονται κτλ.* : this is to be a test case;
 see on XII. 35. — *κοσμιωτέρους*: for the
 meaning, see on VII. 41, and with the
 whole sentence, cf. XXVII. 7, *Ἔν τοι
 καταγηφισάμενοι θανάτου τιμῆσητε ...*
τοὺς ἀλλούς κοσμιωτέρους ποιήσετε. —

125 λὴν ἄδειαν αὐτοῦς ἐψηφισμένοι ἔστεσθε ποιεῖν ὅ τι ἀν βού-
20 λωνται. χρὴ δέ, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, μὴ μόνον τῶν παρε-
ληλυθότων ἔνεκα αὐτοὺς κολάζειν, ἀλλὰ καὶ παραδείγμα-
τος ἔνεκα τῶν μελλόντων ἔστεσθαι· οὕτω γὰρ ἔσονται
μόγις ἀνεκτοί. ἐνθυμεῖσθε δὲ ὅτι ἐκ ταύτης τῆς τέχνης
130 πλεῖστοι περὶ τοῦ σώματός εἰσιν ἡγωνισμένοι. καὶ οὕτω
μεγάλα ἐξ αὐτῆς ἀφελοῦνται, ὥστε μᾶλλον αἴροῦνται καθ'
ἐκάστην ἡμέραν περὶ τῆς ψυχῆς κινδυνεύειν ή παύσασθαι
21 παρ' ὑμῶν ἀδίκως κερδαίουντες. καὶ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲ ἀντι-
βολῶσιν ὑμᾶς καὶ ἰκετεύωσι, δικαίως ἀν αὐτοὺς ἐλεήσατε,
135 ἀλλὰ πολὺ μᾶλλον τῶν τε πολιτῶν οἱ διὰ τὴν τούτων

Ἀψηφισμένοι ἔστεσθε: here the construction with ἡγούμενοι is abandoned. See on xii. 38. For the tense, see on xii. 100. — ποιεῖν: with δεῖαιν, cf. xii. 85.

20. παραδείγματος: warning. See on xxxi. 30. — τῶν μελλόντων ἔστεσθαι: the future. But see on xii. 90. — οὕτω: in the latter case, i.e., if you punish them. — μόγις: only just, barely. Cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 131, πατρώς μόγις παρειποῦσα φρένας, and so μόλις in Thuc. vi. 23, μόλις οὕτως οἱοί τε ἔσθμεθα τῶν μὲν κρατεῖν κτλ. — ἐκ ταῦτης: the preposition denotes the cause; cf. iii. 48, ἡναγκάσθην ἐκ τοιούτων τῶν πραγμάτων εἰς τοιούτους ἀγῶνας καταστῆναι. — περὶ τοῦ σώματος: for their life. For this sense of σῶμα, cf. i. 50, ἐγὼ γὰρ νῦν καὶ περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ περὶ τῶν χρημάτων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀλλων ἀπάντων κινδυνεύω, so in xxix. 11; used also of civil status, cf. v. 1, vii. 26, xxiii. 12; and in the literal meaning body, xxiv. 3. Below, περὶ ψυχῆς is a mere synonym for περὶ σώματος in the first sense, and so

the two are combined in Dinarch. I. 16, ἡ βουλὴ ... κυρία δικάσαι τε περὶ τοῦ σώματος καὶ τῆς ψυχῆς ἐκάστου τῶν πολιτῶν. For ψυχή meaning 'heart' (metaphorically), cf. xxxii. 12, and denoting the intellectual or spiritual part as contrasted with σῶμα, xxiv. 3. — οἱ αὐτῆς: denoting the source; see App. to xvi. 18. — κινδυνεύειν and παύσασθαι: note the difference in tense. See App.

21. ἀντιβολῶσιν καὶ ἰκετεύωσιν: see on xxxii. 11. He is thinking of such scenes as those described in xxvii. 12, καὶ νῦν Ισως ποιήσουσιν ἀπερ καὶ πρότερον ἤσαν εἰθισμένοι καὶ δημόσιαι καὶ φίλοι, κλάουντες ἔξαιτεῖσθαι αὐτοὺς παρ' ὑμῶν, and in Plat. *Apol.* 34 C, ἀγῶνα ἀγωνιζόμενος ἐδεήθη τε καὶ ἰκέτευσε τοὺς δικαστὰς μετὰ πολλῶν δακρύων, παιδία τε αὐτοῦ ἀναβιβασμένος, ἵνα ὅτι μάλιστα ἐλεηθείη, καὶ ἀλλοι τῶν οἰκείων καὶ φίλων πολλούς. On the verb ἐλεέω which follows, see App. to § 11. — τῶν πολιτῶν: on the position of the genitive (belonging to the antecedent of οἱ), cf. xxiii. 4 and 6.

πονηρίαν ἀπέθησκον, καὶ τοὺς ἐμπόρους ἐφ' οὓς οὗτοι συνέστησαν· οὓς ὑμεῖς χαριεῖσθε καὶ προθυμοτέρους ποιήσετε, δίκην παρὰ τούτων λαμβάνοντες. εἰ δὲ μή, τών 140 αὐτοὺς οἴεσθε γνώμην ἔχειν, ἐπειδὰν πύθωνται ὅτι τῶν καπήλων, οἱ τοῖς εἰσπλέουσιν ὡμολόγησαν ἐπιβουλεύειν, ἀπεψηφίσασθε;

22 Οὐκ οὖδ' ὁ τι δεῖ πλείω λέγειν· περὶ μὲν γὰρ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν ἀδικούντων, ὅτου δικάζονται δεῖ παρὰ τῶν κατηγόρων πυθέσθαι, τὴν δὲ τούτων πονηρίαν ἀπαντεῖ 145 ἐπίστασθε. ἀν οὖν τούτων καταψηφίσησθε, τά τε δίκαια ποιήσετε καὶ ἀξιώτερον τὸν σῆτον ὠνήσεσθε· εἰ δὲ μή, τιμιώτερον.

These are the *πολῖται* mentioned in § 16. — οἱς: not repeated in the acc. with *ποιήσετε*, see on § 13.

22 οὗτοι δικάζονται: on this genitive of the crime (G. 1121; H. 745), cf. x. 2, *κακηγορίας δικάζεσθαι*, Dem.

l. 41, *παθῶν ὑπὸ Κόρωνος ταῦθ' ὡν δικάζομαι*, though the verb is middle in both examples. See App. — τιμότερον: clearly an *ad captandum* argument. But the short epilogue contains also an appeal to justice.

AGAINST PANCLEON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE word ἀντιγραφή, which properly signified the written answer put in by the defendant to the charges brought against him, was also used as a general term covering the point or points which defendants might choose to plead in their answers. There were, however, special terms of more limited meaning. For example, if at the ἀνάκρισις a defendant objected, on any ground whatever, to the admissibility of the suit,—as, for instance, that it was not brought in accordance with proper legal forms or before the proper magistrate,—he put in what was called a *παραγραφή*.¹ The *παραγραφή* was, therefore, a special kind of ἀντιγραφή.² If it convinced the accuser of an error in his opening proceedings, he withdrew the case or took it to the proper court. Otherwise the issue raised by the *παραγραφή* was made the subject of an ἀνάκρισις (the original suit meanwhile coming to a standstill), and was then brought before a regular court for settlement. In this court the bringer of the *παραγραφή* had the privilege of speaking first.³ The loser ran the risk of *epobelia*.⁴

The speech *Against Pancleon* was written for a case of this sort.⁵ The speaker, a man unknown to us, had brought a private⁶ suit

¹ In general see M. and S. p. 833 ff., especially pp. 849–855; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 407 f.

² M. and S. p. 849. It differed from the *διαμαρτυρία* (see on § 13) in its form, in that it was made and defended by the accused, and was not dependent upon the evidence of witnesses. Another term for this method of pro-

cedure seems to have been *ἔξωμοστα* (M. and S. p. 864).

³ M. and S. p. 850. He would probably prefer to do so; cf. Dem. xviii. 7.

⁴ M. and S. p. 851; see Introd. § 49.

⁵ The Greek title is therefore erroneous, and it should read: *πρὸς τὴν Παγκλέωνος παραγραφήν* (M. and S. p. 853, note 243). ⁶ Cf. δίκης, §§ 1, 10.

against one Pancleon, a fuller by trade, whom he had summoned before the polemarch⁷ in the belief that he was a metic. But Pancleon, who seems to have had a good deal of experience in law-suits,⁸ raised in his *ἀντιγραφή* the point that the suit *μὴ εἰσαγγώμον εἴναι*.⁹ That is, he put in what we call a 'plea to the jurisdiction' (in Roman law *exceptio fori*), on the ground that he was not a metic at all, but a person entitled to the rights of Attic citizenship, inasmuch as he was a Plataean.¹⁰ Hence our speaker had to overthrow this *παραγραφή* (for such it was in effect, though the special term is not used in the speech¹¹) before the original suit could go on. It is clear from the manner of the speech itself that he spoke first, contrary to the practice in other cases of this sort as known to us.¹²

After the shortest possible preface,¹³ the speaker explains that although Pancleon had said at the outset¹⁴ that he was a Plataean-Athenian of the deme Decelea, yet inquiries made among members of that deme brought out the fact that none of them had ever heard of him; further, it appeared that suits had already been tried against him before the polemarch; hence the speaker laid his suit there.¹⁵ These inquiries were carried on more extensively after Pancleon had repeated his claim formally before that magistrate, the only result of them being that one person said that he had a runaway slave named Pancleon.¹⁶ Some days after, this person, whose name was Nicomedes, seized upon Pancleon as his slave; the speaker happened to be present, and afterwards attended the

⁷ Who had jurisdiction in matters concerning metics; M. and S. p. 86 ff.; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 264; Arist. *Resp.* *Ath.* 58. 2; cf. the Roman *praetor peregrinus*.

⁸ Cf. §§ 3, 4, 9, 13 f.

⁹ § 5.

¹⁰ After the siege and destruction of Plataea by Spartans and Thebans (Thuc. iii. 20-24, and 68) in 428 and 427 B.C., the remnant of the Plataeans was received by the Athenians and given rights of citizenship, the men

being distributed among the demes and tribes. For a full account of this, with the decree, cf. [Dem.] LIX. 94-106.

¹¹ Only the general term *ἀντιγραφή* is used, §§ 5, 10; see M. and S. p. 853.

¹² M. and S. p. 853; Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 619. Otherwise the speaker would have referred to Pancleon's arguments and would not have given so full a statement of the case.

¹³ § 1.

¹⁴ § 2.

¹⁵ §§ 2-3.

¹⁶ §§ 5-8.

proceedings in a suit which followed ; there he, with his witnesses, saw a woman disputing with Nicomedes the claim to Pancleon ; the result was that Pancleon's friends carried him off without waiting for a verdict.¹⁷ From this incident the inference might be drawn that Pancleon himself could not prove that he was even a freeman.¹⁸ To complete the evidence, it appeared that Pancleon, in a suit brought against him by Aristodicus, had raised this same plea to the jurisdiction ; that he had apparently been unable to overthrow the evidence (given by a *διαμαρτυρία*) that he was no Plataean ; and that he had allowed Aristodicus to win the original suit as brought before the polemarch.¹⁹ Hereupon, with a three-line epilogue,²⁰ the speaker rests his case.

In this speech there is used but little argument, for it consists of hardly anything but a brief statement of facts. This sufficed,²¹ for the speaker needed only to show the judges that he had had good grounds for bringing the suit before the polemarch. But incidentally (and herein lies the art of the oration) he leads the hearer to believe that Pancleon, far from being a Plataean, was actually a slave, and he does this without making any direct charge to this effect. At the very moment when the judges might have expected him to do so, he draws back and, as it were, puts it into Pancleon's own mouth.²² By this neat turn and by the whole tone of the speech he avoids showing any needless bitterness, and escapes the suspicion that he was prosecuting a poor fellow from mere *ιδεα*.²³

This oration and the Twenty-fourth illustrate a custom of the Athenians which nowadays we see existing only in our small country towns. It was the regular practice to drop in during the day at the various shops about the *dyopá* to have a chat with one's friends, to hear the news, and to exchange the latest bits of gossip. Thus in the Twenty-fourth oration, § 20, we find the perfumers',

¹⁷ §§ 9-11.

¹⁸ § 12.

we have only an epitome of the actual speech ; see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 620.

¹⁹ §§ 13-15.

²⁰ § 16.

²² § 12. Cf. Introd. to xxxi, note 19.

²¹ And there is no reason to believe, with Francken (*Comm. Lys.* p. 164) that

²³ § 5.

the cobblers', and the barbers' shops made use of in this way; so, too, people gathered about the bankers' tables.²⁴ Certain sets of people seem to have had their particular haunts; for the speaker of our oration knew that Deceleans were to be found at a barber's shop near the Hermae,²⁵ and he was told that the Plataeans met at the green-cheese market.²⁶ He went therefore to these places to ask about his man. Such resorts took the place of our clubs, and he who did not frequent them was considered an unsociable and rather stuck-up person.²⁷ Of all these resorts, the barbers' shops were the favourite, and ancient literature contains many allusions to the chatter and gossip that abounded in them.²⁸ Theophrastus dubbed them 'wineless symposia.'²⁹ The barber himself has been in all ages a type of garrulity. Everybody knows the story of king Archelaus (a contemporary of Lysias), which is constantly turning up as a new joke in our comic papers.³⁰ Another barber nearly lost his life by his desire to be the first to retail the latest news. This was the man who heard in the Piraeus from one of his customers the news of the defeat in Sicily. Up he rushed to the city and began to spread the news; but, being unable to give the name of his informant, he was actually bound to the wheel to be tortured as an unpatriotic liar, when, fortunately for him, the sad news was confirmed by official messengers.³¹

In the oration against Pancleon there is nothing by which the date of its delivery can be fixed.

²⁴ [Lys.] ix. 5. On the general subject, see Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 126; Wilamowitz, *Phil. Untersuch.* I, p. 196.

²⁵ § 3.

²⁶ § 6.

²⁷ Dem. xxv. 52, οὐδὲ προσφοιτῷ πρὸς τι τοῦτων τῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει κουρεῖσιν ἡ μυροπωλίσιν ἡ τῶν διλλων ἐργαστηρίων οὐδὲ πρὸς ξν.

²⁸ E.g., Ar. *Plut.* 388; *Av.* 1441. See Hermann, *ibid.*

²⁹ Apud Plut. p. 679 A, Θεόφραστος

διονα συμπόσια παῖσιν ἐκάλει τὰ κουρέα, διὰ τὴν λαλίαν τῶν προσκαθεῖσάντων.

³⁰ χαριέντως γοῦν δι βασιλέως Ἀρχέλαος, ἀδολέσχον (talkative) κουρέως περιβαλλότος αὐτῷ τὸ ὄμδινον (towel), καὶ πυθομένου· πῶς σε κείρω, βασιλεῦ; σιωπῶν, Σφῆ, Plut. p. 509 B.

³¹ Plut. *ibid.* and *Nicias*, 30. The best account of Greek and Roman barbers is by F. W. Nicolson in vol. II, p. 41 ff. of the *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology*.

ΚΑΤΑ ΠΑΓΚΛΕΩΝΟΣ

ΟΤΙ ΟΤΚ ΉΝ ΠΛΑΤΑΙΕΤΣ.

1 Πολλὰ μὲν λέγειν, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, περὶ τουτού τοῦ πράγματος οὗτ' ἀν δυναίμην οὔτε μοι δοκεῖ δεῖν· ὡς δὲ ὀρθῶς τὴν δίκην ἔλαχον τοντῷ Παγκλέωνι οὐκ ὄντι Πλαταιεῖ, τοῦτο ὑμῖν πειράσομαι ἀποδεῖξαι.

2 Ὡς γὰρ ἀδικῶν με πολὺν χρόνον οὐκ ἐπαύετο, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ γναφεῖον ἐν φειράζετο προσεκαλεσάμην αὐτὸν πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον, νομίζων μέτοικον εἶναι. εἰπόντος δὲ τούτου ὅτι Πλαταιεὺς εἴη, ἡρόμην ὅπόθεν δημοτεύοιτο, παραινέσαντός τινος τῶν παρόντων προσκαλέσασθαι καὶ πρὸς τὴν φυλὴν ἡστινος εἶναι σκήπτοιτο. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἀπεκρίνατο ὅτι Δεκελειόθεν, προσκαλεσάμενος αὐτὸν καὶ

1. ὄρθως: i.e. before the proper court. — δίκην ἔλαχον: see Introd. § 46. — Πλαταιεὺς: see p. 105, note 10.

2. ὡς: instead of ἐπειδὴ or ὅτε, one of two instances (III. 35) in Lysias of this temporal use and not in the other earlier orators (Fuhr). — ἐπι: not into. See on XII. 8. — γναφεῖον: the fuller, γναφεύς, scoured and cleansed home-made cloth, and washed and cleaned soiled clothing. See, in general, Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *fullū*. — προσεκαλεσάμην: see Introd. § 46. — τῶν παρόντων: probably one of the speaker's *κλητῆρες*. See Introd. § 46. — καὶ: also. — ἡστινος...σκήπτοιτο: of which he alleged that he was a

member. — τοὺς δικάζοντας: a body of forty men, chosen by lot, four from each tribe, acted in divisions of four for their appropriate tribes. Such were called *οἱ κατὰ δῆμον δικασταί*. Cases of *αἰκία* and *βίαια* (see on § 12), together with nearly all those which concerned rights to property, came before them. If the amount at issue was not over ten drachmae, their decision was final; otherwise they sent the case to the public arbitrators and, if necessary, to the courts. See Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 53; M. and S. p. 88 ff.; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 377. — Ἰπποθωντίδι: Decelea belonged to that tribe.

3 πρὸς τοὺς τῇ Ἰπποθωντίδι δικάζοντας, ἐλθὼν ἐπὶ τὸ κουρεῖον τὸ παρὰ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς, ἵνα οἱ Δεκελεῖς προσφοιτῶσιν, ἡρώτων, οὓς τε ἔξευρίσκοιμι Δεκελέων ἐπυνθανόμην εἴς τινα γιγνώσκοιεν Δεκελειόθεν δημοτεύσμενον Παγκλέωνα. ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐδεὶς ἔφασκεν γιγνώσκειν αὐτόν, πυθόμενος ὅτι καὶ ἐτέρας δίκας τὰς μὲν φεύγοι τὰς δ' ὀφλήκοι παρὰ τῷ πολεμάρχῳ, ἔλαχον καὶ ἐγώ.

4 Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν ὑμῖν Δεκελέων οὓς ἡρόμην μάρτυρας παρέξομαι, ἐπειτα δὲ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων τῶν λαχόντων τε δίκας αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον καὶ καταδικασμένων, ὅσοι τυγχάνουσι παρόντες. καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὑδωρ.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

5 Ἐκ μὲν τούτων πεισθεὶς πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον αὐτῷ

3. παρὰ τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς: *along by the Hermae* (i.e. *as you go by them*), cf. III. 17, ἡδη δὲ αὐτοῖς οὖσι παρὰ τὴν Λάρμωνος οἰκλαν, And. I. 38, ἐπει δὲ παρὰ τὸ προπύλαιον τὸ Διωνύσου ἦν. The speaker means a celebrated row of Hermae (square pillars terminating in the head of Hermes) in that part of the market near which were shops. See App. — ἴνα: generally with verbs of rest, hence of might have been used here, but cf. Dinarch. II. 10, τόπος ... ἵν' ἔξην ἀτάγειν τοὺς ἐκ δεσμωτηρίου κλέπτοντας, Thuc. IV. 74, ἴναπερ ὄρμητο. — τράπεν: *I made inquiries.* — τέ: for its use without καὶ, see on XXXI. 2. — φεύγοι, ὀφλήκοι: note the difference in tense. Some suits were still pending. — παρὰ τῷ πολέμαρχῳ: the dat. of a word denoting a magistrate or board is very common with παρὰ in such contexts.

See Lutz, *Präp.* p. 147, and on VII. 14.

4. Δεκελίων οὓς: for the position of the gen., cf. τῶν ἄλλων δους, § 6, and see on XXII. 21. — πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον: the acc. (with πρὸς) of a word denoting a magistrate or board is common with expressions denoting appearance or action before such officers. Cf. §§ 2 and 5, and see Lutz, *Präp.* p. 160. — καταδικασμένων: without the article, as this partic. refers to the same persons as λαχόντων. The mere *bringing suit* would be no proof that Pancleon was a metic, but *conviction* would prove it. — ἐπίλαβε: addressed to the officer (ὁ ἐφύδωρ) in charge of the κλεψύδρα, on which see Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *horologium*. The time taken up by witnesses was not deducted from that allowed to a speaker.

τὴν δίκην ἔλαχον· ἐπειδὴ δέ μοι αὐτὴν ἀντεγράψατο μὴ 25 εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι, περὶ πολλοῦ ποιούμενος μηδενὶ δόξαι ὑβρίζειν βούλεσθαι μᾶλλον ἡ δίκην λαβεῖν ὃν ἡδικήθην, πρῶτον μὲν Εὐθύνκριτον, ὃν πρεσβύτατόν τε Πλαταιῶν ἐγίγνωσκον καὶ μάλιστα φόμην εἰδέναι, ἡρόμην εἰ τινα γιγνώσκοι Ἰππαρμοδώρου ὃντα Παγκλέωνα Πλαταιᾶ· 8 ἐπειτα δέ, ἐπειδὴ ἐκεῖνος ἀπεκρίνατό μοι ὅτι τὸν Ἰππαρμόδωρον μὲν γιγνώσκοι, ὃν δὲ ἐκείνῳ οὐδένα οὔτε Παγκλέωνα οὔτε ἄλλον οὐδένα εἰδείη ὅντα, ἡρώτων δὴ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσους ἥδη Πλαταιᾶς ὄντας. πάντες οὖν ἀγνοοῦντες τὸ ὄνομα αὐτοῦ, ἀκριβέστατα ἀν ἐφασάν με πυθέασθαι ἐλθόντα εἰς τὸν χλωρὸν τυρὸν τῇ ἔνη καὶ νέφες ταύτη γάρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τοῦ μηνὸς ἐκάστου ἐκείσε συλλέγεσθαι 7 τοὺς Πλαταιᾶς. ἐλθὼν οὖν εἰς τὸν τυρὸν ταύτη τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπινθανόμην αὐτῶν, εἰ τινα γιγνώσκοιεν Παγκλέωνα πολίτην σφέτερον. καὶ οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι οὐκ ἐφασαν γιγνώσκειν, εἰς δέ τις εἶπεν ὅτι τῶν μὲν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ εἰδείη

5. ἀντεγράψατο: see p. 105, note 11, for the special meaning here. — μὴ εἰσαγώγιμον εἶναι: sc., to the polemarch (see p. 105, and Introd. § 46), 'that it was not in his jurisdiction.' — ὑβρίζειν: be overbearing or high-handed; i.e. he did not wish to seem to be putting himself above the law.

6. τὸν χλωρὸν τυρόν: χλωρός is explained in Bekker *Anec.* p. 73, δ νέος καὶ πρόσφατος. Cf. Ar. *Ran.* 559, τὸν τυρόν γε τὸν χλωρὸν τάλαν, ὃν οὗτος (Heracles) αὐτοῖς τοῖς ταλάροις (wicker baskets in which cheese and fruit were sold) κατήσθιεν. On the Athenian habit of naming places from the wares sold there, cf. Poll. *IX.* 47, οἱ Ἀττικοὶ ὠνόμαζον (τοὺς τό-

πους) ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν αὐτοῖς πιπρασκομένων, ὡς εἰ φάσεν 'ἀπῆλθον ἐς τοῦψον (cf. Aeschin. 1. 65, and see on Lys. *xxxii.* 20), καὶ ἐς τὸν οἶνον (cf. Ar. *frag.* 299, Kock), καὶ ἐς τοῦλαιον (Menander, *inc.* 339, Dind.) καὶ ἐς τὰς χότρας' (cf. Ar. *Lys.* 557). So παρὰ τὸν Ιχθύν, Ar. *Ran.* 1068, and ἀγαγόντα εἰς τὸν σληνὸν ἐπιδεῖξαι αὐτὸν ἔφη πολλὰς μὲν μαχαίρας κτλ., Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 3. 7. — ἔνη καὶ νέφες: the common name for the last day of the month, originating with Solon. Cf. Plut. *Solon*, 25, Diog. *Laert.* i. 2. 57, and Gow, p. 79 ff. It was a sort of settling day in money matters; cf. Ar. *Nub.* 1134.

7. εἰς δέ τις: this was Nicomedes,

τοῦτο ὃν τὸ ὄνομα, δοῦλον μέντοι ἔφη ἔαυτοῦ ἀφεστῶτα εἶναι Παγκλέωνα, τὴν τε ἡλικίαν λέγων τὴν τούτου καὶ 8 τὴν τέχνην ἃ οὗτος χρῆται. Ταῦτ' οὖν ὡς ἀληθῆ ἐστι, τόν τε Εὐθύνητον, ὃν πρῶτον ἡρόμην, καὶ τῶν ἄλλων 15 Πλαταιῶν ὅσοις προσῆλθον, καὶ τὸν ὃς ἔφη δεσπότης τούτου εἶναι, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὅδωρ.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

9. Ἡμέραις τοίνυν μετὰ ταῦτα οὐ πολλαῖς ὑστερον ἴδων ἀχόμενον τουτονὶ Παγκλέωνα ὑπὸ τοῦ Νικομήδους, ὃς 20 ἐμαρτύρησεν αὐτοῦ δεσπότης εἶναι, προσῆλθον βουλόμενος εἰδέναι ὃποιόν τι περὶ αὐτοῦ πραχθήσοιτο. τότε μὲν οὖν ἐπειδὴ ἐπαύσαντο μαχόμενοι, εἰπον τινες τῶν τούτῳ παρόντων ὅτι εἴη αὐτῷ ἀδελφὸς ὃς ἐξαιρήσοιτο αὐτὸν εἰς

§ 9.—ἀφεστῶτα: used here of a runaway slave (cf. Thuc. i. 139, 2, *ἀνδραπόδων ὑποδοχὴν τῶν ἀφισταμένων*) instead of the usual ἀποφεύγω, ἀποδιδάσκω (see on xvi. 17), or δραπέτης. For the verb is properly applied to freedmen who neglect their duties to their patrons, thus becoming liable to the δίκη ἀποστάτος, M. and S. p. 619 ff., Arist. *Resp.* *Ath.* 58. 3.—τὴν τέχνην: cf. § 2, and see on *xxii.* 16.

8. καὶ τὸν δέ κτλ.: equivalent to τὸν εἰπόντα κτλ. This is a survival of the demonstrative use of δέ, ἡ, τό, before a relative clause, found esp. in Plato. H. 655 c; Kühn. § 459, 1 a; cf. Dem. *xxii.* 64, *μισθῖ τοὺς οἰστηπερ οὗτος*, Plat. *Prot.* 320 D, *ἐκ γῆς καὶ πυρὸς μίχαντες καὶ τῶν δύο πυρὶ καὶ γῆς κεράννυται*. Lysias has this usage only here, but for τὸν καὶ τὸν cf. I. 23, *xix.* 59, and see H. 655 b; πρὸ τοῦ, *xii.* 2.

9. ἀγόμανον: a master had the right to seize upon and repossess himself (ἄγειν εἰς δουλείαν or simply ἄγειν) of a runaway slave wherever found. The term (see App. to § 10) ἐξαρεῖσθαι or ἀφαρεῖσθαι (with or without εἰς ἔλευθερα) was used of a citizen who opposed the claim on the ground that the man was free. Such an opponent had to undertake to bring the slave before the polemarch and give security (three citizens required) that, in case he lost the following suit, he would pay the damages. On the subject, see M. and S. p. 658 ff., and cf. the case of Verginia in Livy iii. 44 ff. — ἐμαρτύρησεν: referring to the evidence just given, at the end of § 8. — τῶν τούτῳ παρόντων: friends to whom Pancleon had appealed with the legal word παρηρόμαι. Cf. § 12. — ἐξαιρήσοιτο: no actual ἐξαιρεσίς, therefore, took

έλευθερίαν· ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐγγυησάμενοι παρέξειν εἰς αὔριον
 10 ὥχοντο ἀπιόντες. τῇ δὲ ὑστεραίᾳ τῆς τε ἀντιγραφῆς
 ἔνεκα ταυτησὶ καὶ αὐτῆς τῆς δίκης ἔδοξε μοι χρῆναι μάρ-
 τυρας λαβόντι παραγενέσθαι, ὥν εἰδείην τὸν τ' ἔξαιρησό-
 μενον αὐτὸν καὶ ὃ τι λέγων ἀφαιρήσοιτο. ἐφ' οὓς μὲν
 οὖν ἐξηγγυήθη, οὗτε ἀδελφὸς οὗτε ἄλλος οὐδεὶς ἥλθε,
 20 γυνὴ δὲ φάσκουσα αὐτῆς αὐτὸν εἶναι δοῦλον, ἀμφισβη-
 τοῦσα τῷ Νικομήδει, καὶ οὐκ ἐφη ἔάσειν αὐτὸν ἄγειν.
 11 ὅσα μὲν οὖν αὐτόθι ἐρρήθη, πολὺς ἀν εἴη μοι λόγος διη-
 γεῖσθαι· εἰς τοῦτο δὲ βιαιότητος ἥλθον οἵ τε παρόντες
 τούτῳ καὶ αὐτὸς οὗτος, ὥστε ἐθέλοντος μὲν τοῦ Νικομή-
 25 δους ἐθελούσης δὲ τῆς γυναικὸς ἀφιέναι, εἴ τις ἡ εἰς ἐλευ-
 θερίαν τοῦτον ἔξαιροῦτο ἡ ἄγοι φάσκων ἔαυτοῦ δοῦλον
 εἶναι, τούτων οὐδὲν ποιήσαντες ἀφελόμενοι ὥχοντο. ὡς
 οὖν τῇ τε προτεραιάᾳ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἐξηγγυήθη καὶ τότε βίᾳ
 30 ὥχοντο ἀφελόμενοι αὐτόν, μάρτυρας παρέξομαι ὑμῖν. καὶ
 τοι μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

12 'Ράδιον τούννυν εἰδέναι ὅτι οὐδ' αὐτὸς Παγκλέων νομίζει
 ἔαυτον μὴ ὅτι Πλαταιαῖ εἶναι, ἀλλ' οὐδ' ἐλεύθερον. δοτις

place on that day, but it appears that the man in question was let go, on the agreement of friends to produce him next day before the polemarch for the legal ἔξαιρεσις by his brother; see M. and S. p. 659.—*εἰς αὔριον*: see App.

10. ἀντιγραφῆς and δίκης: the speaker hoped to get, by being present at the ἔξαιρεσις, some useful points on both his original suit (δίκης) and the ἀντιγραφή of Pancleon. — ἐφ' οὓς: = ἐπὶ τούτους (§ 9) ἐφ' οὓς. — ἀμφισβη-

τοῦσα: *laying a claim against.* Cf. XVII. 5, ἥμὖν οἱ Τερασιφῶντος οἰκεῖοι τούτων τῶν χρημάτων ἡμφισβήτουν, and XXIV. 14.

11. ἔθλοντος, ἔθλοντης: note the anaphora, used only here in this speech.

12. ἔαυτον: the subject is expressed for emphasis. H. 940 b; Kr. Spr. 55, 2, 3. — μὴ δτι: 'not to speak of,' stronger than *not only*. G. 1504; H. 1035 a. — δοτις ἔβουλήθη ... οὐδὲν χαλεπὸν κτλ.: see on XXXI. 22.

γὰρ ἐβουλήθη βίᾳ ἀφαιρεθεὶς ἐνόχους καταστῆσαι τὸν
έαυτοῦ ἐπιτηδείους τοῖς βιαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους
πεῖς τὴν ἐλευθερίαν ἐξαιρεθεὶς δίκην λαβεῖν παρὰ τῶν
ἀγόντων αὐτόν, οὐδεὶν χαλεπὸν γνῶναι ὅτι εὐ εἰδὼς ἐαυτὸν
ὅντα δοῦλον ἔδεισεν ἐγγυητὰς καταστήσας περὶ τοῦ σώ-
ματος ἀγωνίσασθαι.

13 Ὄτι μὲν οὖν Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι πολλοῦ δεῖ, οἷμαι ὑμᾶς ἐκ
ειπούτων σχεδόν τι γιγνώσκειν· ὅτι δὲ οὐδὲ αὐτός, ὃς
ἀρισταὶ οἶδε τὰ αὐτοῦ, ἡγήσατο δόξαι ἀν νῦν Πλαταιεὺς
εἶναι, ἐξ ὧν ἐπραξεὶς ράδιος μαθήσεσθε. ἐν τῇ ἀντωμοσίᾳ
γὰρ τῆς δίκης ἦν αὐτῷ ἐλαχεν Ἀριστόδικος οὗτοσι,
ἀμφισβητῶν μὴ πρὸς τὸν πολέμαρχον εἶναι οἱ τὰς δίκας,

— ἐνόχους καταστῆσαι κτλ.: i.e. they would stand guilty of forcible abduction instead of lawful ἐξαρεστος, and were liable to the δίκη βιαλων with a penalty of double the value of the plaintiff's loss. M. and S. pp. 646, 660. — δίκην λαβεῖν κτλ.: if Panicleon had really been a free man, he was morally bound to bring the action just mentioned against the two persons who asserted that he was a slave. — εἰδὲς ἀντὸν ὅντα: the acc. of the partic. is used when a reflexive is the object of a verb that takes the partic. in indir. discourse. GMT. 905. — σώματος: used of his civil status. See on VII. 26.

13. εἶναι πολλοῦ δεῖ: *he is far from being.* See on XII. 17. — σχεδόν τι: 'pretty well,' cf. XIII. 33, σχεδόν τι οἷμαι ὑμᾶς ἐνίστασθαι. — ἀντωμοσίᾳ: properly used only of the defendant's oath at the διάκρισις, but here of the proceedings in general there. See M.

and S. p. 827 ff. — μὴ εἶναι: the negative idea of ἀμφισβητῶν repeated, and so after διεμαρτυρήθη. See on VII. 18. — οἱ: this indir. reflexive is rarely used by the orators, but by Lysias in XIII. 41, six times in Andocides, twice in Antiphon, once in Isaeus. Kr. Spr. 51, 2, 4; Kühn. § 455, 5, 9; Dyroff, Gesch. d. Pron. Reflex. p. 361 ff. — διεμαρτυρήθη: at the anacrisis, Panicleon had claimed that he was a citizen (being a Plataean), and that consequently the polemarch had no jurisdiction in his case. Thereupon Aristodicus brought in a διεμαρτυρία (that is, he presented witnesses to prove that Panicleon's objection would not hold), and διεμαρτυρήθη, 'testimony was brought to show' that he was not a Plataean. See M. and S. p. 842 ff., esp. p. 848, and on the repetition in μὴ of the negative idea, cf. Isaeus VI. 4, διεμαρτύρησεν Ἀνδροκλῆς οὗτοσι μὴ ἐπίδικον εἶναι τὸν κλῆρον.

14 διεμαρτυρήθη μὴ Πλαταιεὺς εἶναι, ἐπισκηψάμενος δὲ τῷ μάρτυρι οὐκ ἐπεξῆλθεν, ἀλλ’ εἴασε καταδικάσασθαι αὐτοῦ τὸν Ἀριστόδικον. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ὑπερήμερος ἐγένετο, ἐξέτεισε τὴν δίκην, καθ’ ὃ τι ἐπειθε. καὶ τούτων, ὡς ἀληθῆ ἔστι, μάρτυρας ἐγὼ παρέξομαι ὑμῖν. καί μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

15 Πρὶν τούννυν ταῦτα ὅμολογηθῆναι αὐτῷ, δεδιώς τὸν Ἀριστόδικον, μεταστὰς ἐντεῦθεν Θήβησι μετώκει. καίτοι οἵμαι εἰδέναι ὑμᾶς ὅτι εἴπερ ἦν Πλαταιεύς, πανταχοῦ μᾶλλον ἡ Θήβησιν εἰκὸς ἦν αὐτὸν μετοικῆσαι. ὡς οὖν ἐκεὶ ὕκει πολὺν χρόνον, τούτων ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέξομαι. οὐδεὶς μοι ἐπίλαβε τὸ ὕδωρ.

14. *ἐπισκηψάμενος*: concessive. The *ἐπισκηψίς* was the notice of intention to bring a δίκη ψευδομαρτυρίων, *action for false witness*. It had to be given before the judges voted; Arist. *Resp. Ath.* col. 36. See M. and S. p. 491. — *ἐπεξῆλθεν*: *prosecuted*. — *ὑπερήμερος*: a term was fixed for the settlement of fines or damages, though we do not know what it was. But of course the parties could agree upon an extension (cf. [Dem.] XLVII. 49, μελλούσης μοι ἦδη ἐξήκειν τῆς ὑπερημερίας ... ἔδειμην δ' αὐτοῦ ἀναβαλέσθαι τὴν ὑπερημερίαν), or, as here, could settle it by compromise (δωλογύλα, see below, § 15) after the term had expired; see M. and S. p. 964. — *καθ’ ὃ τι ἐπειθε*: as *ἐκτίνω* generally means to pay in full, this relative clause modifies it by showing that there was a compromise, and means *on the terms he persuaded him to accept*, i.e. 'on the best terms possible.' For a

like ellipse with *τελθώ*, cf. [Dem.] I. 42, τὸ ἐπιτριπράχημα ἀπέδωκε τῷ Ἀγνάκ τοῦ χρόνου οὐ ἐτανήλωσεν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν, δον ἐπεισε, and an inscription from Orchomenus, Boeotia, ap. Cauer, *Delectus Inscr. Graec.* 295, 134, ἀπόδομεν τὰν τόλιν Ἐρχομενίων Νικαρέτη Θίωνος, ὁ ἐπίθωσαν οὐπέρ τὰν οὐπεραμέριάν τὰν ἐπὶ Σενοκρίτω ἀρχοντος ἐν Θεσπίης, ἀργοντίω δραχμὰς μουρίας κτλ. For *καθ’ δ τι*, cf. *καθ’ δον*, Lys. XXXI. 8, and the common phrase *καθ’ δον δύναμαι*, also Lycurg. *Leocr.* 16, *καθ’ δ τι δύναται* δοκῦ.

15. *ὅμολογηθῆναι*: the regular word in such affairs, see on § 14, and [Dem.] XLII. 12, XLVII. 77 ff. — *μετώκει*: *he lived as a foreigner*, cf. XII. 20, XXII. 5; note the difference in meaning of the aor. *μετοικῆσαι*. See on XII. 71. — *πανταχοῦ μᾶλλον*: on account of the long hostility between the two places; see note 10, p. 105. — *εἰκὸς ἦν*: without *ἄν*, see on XII. 32.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

16 Ἐξαρκεῖν μοι νομίζω τὰ εἰρημένα, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί·
ἔὰν γὰρ διαμνημονεύητε, οἶδ' ὅτι τά τε δίκαια καὶ τάληθή
ψηφιεῖσθε· ἀ καὶ ἐγὼ ὑμῶν δέομαι.

FOR THE CRIPPLE.

INTRODUCTION.

THE system of public charities or state aid to the poor, which we expect to find organized in every civilized modern country, did not exist in Greek antiquity.¹ There was not so great a need for it. In the small states of ancient Greece, property was more evenly divided than it is now; Greeks, indeed, never had, even in the time of the decadence, any such great private fortunes as were common in Rome. Though there were always beggars from the time of Odysseus down, yet these were as a rule rarely natives of the country in which they begged, but were generally, as he pretended to be, exiles or unfortunates from another land. In the best days of Athens the sight of a citizen begging in public was, according to Isocrates,² an unknown thing, and this disgrace befell the State only after the misfortunes of the Peloponnesian war and the troubles in the time of the Thirty. But from the earliest times and during the whole history of the city there must always have been cases of indigency arising from physical inability to work, and it was the boast of Athens that she alone of all Greek states made charitable provision for them.³ This was done not by means of a poor-house, but by allowances.

The earliest known case of the sort is that of Thersippus, a wounded soldier in whose favour Solon obtained a decree that he should be supported at the public cost.⁴ Upon this precedent Pisistratus based a general law applying to all such veterans.⁵ The

¹ On the general subject, see Boeckh, *Staatshaush.* I, 308 ff., 570 ff.; Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 94 f. ² vii. 83.

³ Aristid. I, p. 310, Dind.

⁴ Plut. *Solon.* 31.

⁵ *Ibid.*; cf. Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 309.

next known instance is that of the cripple in Lysias's oration. We see from this that the charity had been extended, and we learn how it was administered. It was no longer confined to old soldiers; for if Lysias's man had ever served, he would certainly have enlarged upon the fact. His allowance amounted to one obol a day;⁶ it was voted originally by the Senate,⁷ and had to be confirmed annually by that body.⁸ The people in the Assembly seem to have voted each year on the whole list of allowances, not troubling themselves ordinarily about individuals.⁹ Although the grant was made on the ground that the recipient was incapacitated for work, yet it is clear that the letter of the law was not rigidly enforced; for our cripple had a trade,¹⁰ he could walk, though only with sticks or crutches,¹¹ and even ride,¹² and that too in the days before stirrups and saddles with trees were known. But in spite of this, more than one Senate had satisfied itself that he was really *ἀδύνατος* within the meaning of the law, for every year the incoming Senate held a *δοκιμασία* on such cases.¹³ And at this investigation, charges might be made even against the character of the beneficiary.¹⁴

In the speech of Aeschines against Timarchus,¹⁵ the orator tells how the accused, himself well off, had suffered his own uncle, a poor old blind man, to be reckoned among the cripples (*ἐν τοῖς ἀδύνατοις μισθοφοροῦντα*), and how, when he failed to come up for his *δοκιμασία* on the appointed day,¹⁶ but presented himself later with a petition to the Senate, the cruel Timarchus, though himself a Senator, had not a word to say in his behalf, but allowed him to lose *τὸν τῆς πρυτανείας μισθόν*. From this passage we learn that the allowance, called *μισθός*, was paid by the prytany, and from

⁶ §§ 13, 26. For the evidence that this was a *day's* allowance, see Aristotele, quoted on p. 118.

⁷ §§ 7, 22. ⁸ § 26. ⁹ § 22.

¹⁰ § 4. What was it? It required him to go about, § 10; he calls himself *δημονυργός*, § 19. For the meaning of *τέχνη*, see on xxii. 16.

¹¹ § 12.

¹² § 10 ff.

¹³ § 26.

¹⁴ §§ 15, 19. On the general nature of all *δοκιμασταί*, see Introd. § 8.

¹⁵ §§ 103, 104.

¹⁶ § 104, *ἀπολειφθέντος τοῦ πρεσβύτερον τῆς γυγνωμένης τοῖς ἀδύνατοις δοκιμασταῖς, ἵκετηραν θέντος εἰς τὴν βουλὴν ὑπὲρ τοῦ μισθοῦ*, and the scholium thereon.

the scholium that 'cripples' were *τοὺς ὅπωσδηποτοῦν ἡχρειωμένους πρὸς ἐπικουρίαν αὐτῶν.*¹⁷

This brings us down to the more exact statement of the law by Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 49. 4), as follows : *δοκιμάζει δὲ καὶ τοὺς ἀδυνάτους ὃ βουλή· νόμος γάρ ἐστιν ὃς κελεύει τοὺς ἐντὸς τριῶν μνῶν κεκτημένους, καὶ τὸ σῶμα πεπηρωμένους ὥστε μὴ δύνασθαι μηδὲν ἔργον ἐργάζεσθαι, δοκιμάζειν μὲν τὴν βουλήν, διδόναι δὲ δημοσίᾳ τροφὴν δύο ὀβολοὺς ἐκάστῳ τῆς ἡμέρας.* Two new facts come out here,—first, that the allowance had been increased to two obols; and, second, that it was given to all whose property amounted to less than three minae. The time when this change and this limitation were made remains at present unknown.¹⁸

Lysias wrote the Twenty-fourth oration for a pensioner of this sort.¹⁹ His cripple seems to have been a celebrity,—perhaps a somewhat impudent fellow, but one who had a lively wit and humour of his own. He attracted the idlers of the market²⁰ to his little shop, where they would doubtless lounge to exchange a joke,—often rather a biting one, for the man was probably a privileged character. He made friends, however, even among the rich; witness the loan of horses to him. Such a man would of course make enemies, too, by his ever-ready tongue, and it was

¹⁷ The statement in the scholium that the allowance was three obols seems due to a confusion with the heliast's pay; see Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 310.

¹⁸ According to Harp., s.v. *ἀδύνατοι*, Philochorus (died in 261 B.C.) said that the allowance was nine drachmae a prytany (= about one and a half obols a day). Harpocration also quotes Aristotle and Lysias on the amount. The sum of five obols a day named in Becker, *Anec.* p. 345, 15, is a clear error. Hesychius and Suidas add nothing new, the former following Aristotle, the latter Harpocration. It has been thought that the amount may have varied with the degree of poverty; see Boeckh,

ibid. p. 310; also Hartmann, *Quaest. Gr.* II, p. 1 ff.

¹⁹ Others who received public support (*τροφή*) of a different sort (elsewhere as well as in Athens) were the children of men who had fallen in war, Arist. *Polit.* 1268 a, 6 ff. Among private charities may be mentioned the fitting out of poor men for campaigns by their richer comrades (see on xvi. 14), and the *λίτισις αἰχμαλώτων* (see on xii. 20). Then there were the *ἱππαροι* and the *θλαστοι*, see Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 312.

²⁰ On the life in the agora, see p. 106. On the character of the Cripple, see Devries's excellent analysis, in his *Ethopoiia*, p. 34 ff.

perhaps one of them — maybe a man of higher station with whom he had gone too far in a joke — that raised objections to his allowance at the annual δοκιμασία.²¹ But the accuser got more than he had bargained for. Lysias doubtless knew the man, saw the humour of the situation, marked it for his own, and wrote a speech (probably free of charge) which must have confounded the plaintiff. It was an excellent opportunity for the exhibition of that ἡθοποιία in which Lysias excelled, and he made the most of it. The speech is a very lucky hit, a mixture of serious pleading and of witty retort²²; now in earnest, now employing intentional absurdity,²³ now jesting,²⁴ now a comical parody of the solemn and sententious²⁵; passing “from grave to gay, from lively to severe.” But the soberness and gravity are really all ironical and used for comic effect, and the speech contains no real pathos unless it be in the concluding appeal that after all it's only an obol that he needs, poor wretch, to make him happy.²⁶

Both ancient and modern critics²⁷ have doubted whether this oration was really the work of Lysias. It has been thought most unlikely that Lysias should have written a speech for such a man, or that the Senate would have listened to so elaborate, and withal so impudent an address, on such a trifling matter. But, as Blass well remarks, neither modern nor ancient critics can tell on what

²¹ The word *εἰσαγγελία* in the Ms. Greek title is a manifest error; see M. and S. p. 312. A different title is given by Suidas, who has s.v. *ἀνάπηρος*: *Λυσίας ἐν τῷ περὶ τοῦ διδομένου τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις δρολοῦ*.

²² Cf. *δύοις τούτῳ*, § 21.

²³ As, e.g., the notion that he might be choregus or archon, §§ 9, 13, — that he could have been *ἐν δυνάμει* in the time of the Thirty, § 25, — that his two sticks proved that he was stronger than those who used one, § 12, — that his infirmity was as desirable as an heiress, § 14.

²⁴ Cf. *συκοφαντεῖ*, § 2; his *reductio ad absurdum* of the charge so as to apply it to all Athens, § 20; jokes παρὰ προσδοκίαν, as *οὐδέν*, § 6; *φθόνον*, § 1.

²⁵ Gnomic thoughts, §§ 3, 10, 16 ff.; affected and grandiose words, too high for his real station, *ἴασθαι*, § 3; *ἐλεγμονέστατοι*, § 7; *φιλοσοφεῖν*, § 10; *πραΐνως*, § 15; *κωμῳδεῖν*, § 18; *δειλαιστάτος*, § 23; his allusions to *δαίμων* and *τύχη*, § 22; antitheses, §§ 7, 16, 17, 18.

²⁶ § 26.

²⁷ Harp. s.v. *ἀδύτατοι*. Boeckh, *ibid.* p. 300.

subjects Lysias would choose to write, or the Athenians to lend an ear.²⁸ And it is now generally agreed that we have in it one of the most typical of the works of Lysias.²⁹

On the date, nothing can be said further than that the speech was delivered some time after the fall of the Thirty.³⁰

²⁸ *Att. Bereds.* I, 637. Blass himself, p. 633, classes it among 'bagatelle' speeches with the lost orations *On the Cruet-stand*, *On the Golden Tripod*, *Defence of the Dog*, etc.

²⁹ Wilamowitz, *Phil. Untersuch.* I, p. 196, calls it Lysias's best speech.

³⁰ § 25.

ΠΡΟΣ ΤΗΝ ΕΙΣΑΓΓΕΛΙΑΝ ΠΕΡΙ ΤΟΥ ΜΗ

ΔΙΔΟΣΘΑΙ ΤΩΙ ΑΔΥΝΑΤΩΙ ΑΡΓΥΡΙΟΝ.

1. Οὐ πολλοῦ δέω χάριν ἔχειν, ὡς βουλή, τῷ κατηγόρῳ, ὅτι μοι παρεσκεύασε τὸν ἀγῶνα τουτονί. πρότερον γὰρ οὐκ ἔχων πρόφασιν ἐφ' ἣς τοῦ βίου λόγον δοίην, νυνὶ διὰ τοῦτον εἰληφα. καὶ πειράσομαι τῷ λόγῳ τοῦτον μὲν δὲπιδεῖξαι φευδόμενον, ἐμαυτὸν δὲ βεβιωκότα μέχρι τῆσδε τῆς ἡμέρας ἐπαίνου μᾶλλον ἄξιον ἢ φθόνου· διὰ γὰρ οὐδὲν ἄλλο μοι δοκεῖ παρασκευάσαι τόνδε μοι τὸν κύνδυνον οὗτος ἢ διὰ φθόνου. καίτοι ὅστις τούτοις φθονεῖ οὓς οἱ ἄλλοι ἐλεοῦσι, τίνος ἀνύμνη ὁ τοιοῦτος ἀποσχέσθαι δοκεῖ πονηρίας; εἰ μὲν γὰρ ἔνεκα χρημάτων με συκοφαν-

1. On the opening, see on xvi. 1. — οὐ πολλοῦ δέω: see on xii. 17, and for the neg. with this phrase, cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 4. 32, παῖδας . . . οὐ πολλοῦ δέοντας θεούς τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ πλάτος εἶναι. — παρεσκέναστ: for the meaning, see on vii. 18. — πρόφασιν: for the meaning, see on xii. 28. — ἐφ' ἣς: for the unusual gen., see App. — ἔχων: a secondary tense, being impf. in time; cf. δοκοῦντες, § 7. — ἐφ' ἣς δοίην: an extension of the dependent deliberative construction (see on xxxii. 20) to a purely rel. clause. Cf. [Dem.] xxxv. 25, οὐκ εἴχομεν δτον ἐπιλαβούμεθα οὐδέ δτον κρατοῦμεν, and for examples of the subjv. after a

primary tense Isocr. xxi. 1, οὐ πρόφασεως ἀπορῶ δί ηντινα λέγω ὑπὲρ Νικίου τουτού, and Xen. *Anab.* i. 7. 7, οὐκ ἔχω ίκανος οἰς δῶ. See GMT. 572, and App. — ἄξιον: see App. — φθόνον: not a real antithesis to ἐταίρον (as ψύχου would be), but purposely used παρὰ προσδοκίαν. It might excite surprise and amusement at the moment, but it prepares the way for the cripple's attack on the heartlessness of his adversary.

2. εἰ . . . συκοφαντεῖ: the apod. is supplied by a significant gesture (we might turn out a pocket) or a derisive laugh. G. 1416. The apod. is often omitted with the first of two

τεῖ —, εἰ δ’ ὡς ἐχθρὸν ἔαυτοῦ με τιμωρεῖται, ψεύδεται· διὰ γὰρ τὴν πονηρίαν αὐτοῦ οὔτε φίλῳ οὔτε ἐχθρῷ πώς ποτε ἐχρησάμην αὐτῷ. ἥδη τοίνυν, ὡς βουλή, δῆλος ἐστι φθονῶν, ὅτι τοιαύτη κεχρημένος συμφορᾷ τούτου βελτίων οὐεὶμὶ πολίτης. καὶ γὰρ οἶμαι δὲν, ὡς βουλή, τὰ τοῦ σώματος δυστυχήματα τοῦς τῆς ψυχῆς ἐπιτηδεύμασιν ἴσσθαι. εἰ γὰρ ἔξι ἵσου τῇ συμφορᾷ καὶ τὴν διάνοιαν ἔξω καὶ τὸν ἄλλον βίον διάξω, τί τούτου διοίσω;

4 Περὶ μὲν οὖν τούτων τοσαῦτά μοι εἰρήσθω· ὑπὲρ ὅν
20 δέ μοι προσήκει λέγειν, ὡς ἀν οἵσις τ’ ὡς διὰ βραχυτάτων
ἐρῶ. φησὶ γὰρ ὁ κατήγορος οὐ δικαίως με λαμβάνειν
τὸ παρὰ τῆς πόλεως ἀργύριον· καὶ γὰρ τῷ σώματι δύνα-
σθαι καὶ οὐκ εἶναι τῶν ἀδυνάτων, καὶ τέχνην ἐπίστασθαι
5 τοιαύτην ὥστε καὶ ἀνευ τοῦ διδομένου τούτου ζῆν. καὶ
25 τεκμηρίοις χρῆται τῆς μὲν τοῦ σώματος ρώμης, ὅτι ἐπὶ¹
τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, τῆς δ’ ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ εὐπορίας, ὅτι
δύναμαι συνεῖναι δυναμένους ἀνθρώποις ἀναλίσκειν. τὴν
μὲν οὖν ἐκ τῆς τέχνης εὐπορίαν καὶ τὸν ἄλλον τὸν ἐμὸν

clauses introduced by *εἰ μὲν* and *εἰ δέ*.
Kühn. 577, 3 c. — ὡς ἐχθρόν με τιμω-
ρεῖται: this would be right enough.

See on xii. 2.

3. ἥδη τοίνυν: now therefore. —
συμφορᾷ: of a physical misfortune,
cf. xxxi. 10. — ψυχῆς: in its proper
contrast to *σῶμα*. See on xxii. 20.
— ἐπιτηδεύμασιν: *pursuits*, *studia*.
— ἴσσθαι: with allusion to the pro-
verbial μὴ κακοῖς λῶ κακά, Aesch. *frag.*
349 Nauck²; cf. Hdt. iii. 53, Thuc.
v. 65, Soph. *frag.* 74, *Ajax*, 362,
Plat. *Prot.* 340 E. — ἐξ ισον: to cor-
respond to. See below, § 9. — τὸν ἄλλον
βίον: used of his moral behaviour,

while *διάνοιαν* means his *intelligence*,
and the two are contrasted with his
physical disability, *συμφορᾷ*.

4. περί, ὑπέρ: synonyms, as in
§ 21. This use of *ὑπέρ*, somewhat
rare in the three earlier orators, be-
comes common later; see Lutz, *Präp.*
p. 93. — τέχνην: see p. 117, note 10.

5. ἐν τῇ τέχνῃ: denoting the
means. Cf. xiii. 12, ἀπέκτειναν (sc. αὐ-
τὸν) ἐν τῇ προφάσει ταύτῃ, and see on
vii. 20. Below, in ἐκ τῆς τέχνης, the
point of view is rather that of cause.
See Lutz, *Präp.* pp. 36, 38, 53. —
βίον: *livelihood*, *living*. Cf. Thuc.
i. 5, ἡρπαξον καὶ τὸν πλεύστον τοῦ βίου

βίον, οῖος τυγχάνει, πάντας ὑμᾶς οἴομαι γιγνώσκειν. 6 δόμως δὲ κάγω διὰ βραχέων ἔρω. ἐμοὶ γὰρ ὁ μὲν πατὴρ κατέλιπεν οὐδέν, τὴν δὲ μητέρα τελευτήσασαν πέπανυμαι τρέφων τρίτον ἔτος τουτί, παῖδες δέ μοι οὐπω εἰσὶν οἱ με θεραπεύσουσι· τέχνην δὲ κέκτημαι βραχέα δυναμένην ὥφελεν, ἦν αὐτὸς μὲν ἡδη χαλεπῶς ἐργάζομαι, τὸν δια- 7 δεξόμενον δ' αὐτὴν οὐπω δύναμαι κτήσασθαι· πρόσοδος δέ μοι οὐκ ἔστιν ἄλλη πλὴν ταύτης, ἦν ἀν ἀφέλησθε με, κιν- τούννυν, ἐπειδή γε ἔστιν, ὡς βουλή, σῶσαι με δικαίως, ἀπο- λέσητε ἀδίκως· μηδὲ ἀ νεωτέρω καὶ μᾶλλον ἐρρωμένω 8 ὅντι ἔδοτε, πρεσβύτερον καὶ ἀσθενέστερον γιγνόμενον ἀφέλησθε· μηδὲ πρότερον καὶ περὶ τοὺς οὐδὲν ἔχοντας κακὸν ἐλεημονέστατοι δοκοῦντες εἶναι νυνὶ διὰ τοῦτον

ἐντεῦθεν ἐποιῶντο, *Ατ. Pax.* 1212, ἀπώ-
λεσάς μοι τὴν τέχνην καὶ τὸν βίον. —
τυγχάνει: *sc. ὡς*, rarely (and only
here in Lysias) omitted. *GMT.* 902.

6. τρίτον ἔτος τουτί: *ab hinc tres annos*, ‘going on three years,’ i.e. *two years ago*. On the case, see *G.* 1063; *H.* 721, and *cf.* *Dem.* *liv.* 3, *ἔξηλθον*, *ἔτος τουτί τρίτον*, *εἰς Πάνακτον*. The phrase belongs both to *τελευτήσασαν* and to *πέπανυμαι*. — οὐπω: a jest, for (though his mother has lately died) he seems to be well on in years. *Cf.* §§ 7, 8, 16. — θεραπεύ-
σουσι: on the tense, *cf.* *xvi.* 16. — τὸν διαδεξόμενον: for the tense, see on *xii.* 98. A technical term. He means a slave who is to ‘relieve’ him of the actual work of his business; see *Hermann*, *Privatalt.* pp. 91, 399. — κτήσασθαι: *acquire*, i.e. *buy*, *cf.* § 11. Note the difference in tense

from that of *κέκτημαι*. — ὑπὸ τῇ τύχῃ: a half-personification of *τύχη*, on the analogy of *ὑπὸ τοῖς τυράννοις ἐγένοντο*, *xxvi.* 22, *ὑπὸ τῷ βαρβάρῳ*, *xxxiii.* 3; see on *ὑπὸ* with gen. below, in § 17, and for a like use with *ἐπὶ*, *cf.* *Antiphon* v. 6, *ἄπαντα γὰρ τὰ ἐν ἀδήλῳ* *ἐπ’ ὅντα ἐπὶ τῇ τύχῃ μᾶλλον ἀνάκειται ἢ τῇ προνοίᾳ*. With both prepositions the use of substantives really impersonal is rare in the sense of ‘in the power of’; see *Lutz*, *Präp.* pp. 115, 179.

7. σῶσαι ... ἀδίκως: *cf.* *xix.* 54, *βούλεσθε ἡμᾶς δικαῖος σῶσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀδίκως ἀπολέσαι*. — ἐρρωμένῳ: as adj. *GMT.* 830. — τοὺς ... κακόν: *people who had nothing the matter with them*. — ἐλεημονέστατοι: a rare adj.; *cf.* *Isocr.* *xv.* 20, who says that the Athenians *ἐλεημονέστατος ὄμολογεῖσθαι καὶ πραοτάτος ἀπάντων εἶναι τῶν Ἑλλήνων*. — δοκοῦντες: *imprf.* in

τοὺς καὶ τοῖς ἔχθροῖς ἐλεεινοὺς ὅντας ἀγρίως ἀποδέξησθε· μηδ' ἐμὲ τολμήσαντες ἀδικῆσαι καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους τοὺς 8 ὁμοίως ἐμοὶ διακειμένους ἀθυμῆσαι ποιήσητε. καὶ γὰρ ἀν ἄτοπον εἴη, ὡς βουλή, εἰ ὅτε μὲν ἀπλῆ μοι ἦν ἡ συμφορά, τότε μὲν φαινούμην λαμβάνων τὸ ἀργύριον τοῦτο, νῦν δ' ἐπειδὴ καὶ γῆρας καὶ νόσοι καὶ τὰ τούτοις ἐπό- 9 μενα κακὰ προσγύγνεται μοι, τότε ἀφαιρεθείην. δοκεῖ δέ 10 μοι τῆς πενίας τῆς ἐμῆς τὸ μέγεθος ὁ κατήγορος ἀν ἐπιδεῖξαι σαφέστατα μόνος ἀνθρώπων. εἰ γὰρ ἐγὼ κατασταθεὶς χορηγὸς τραγῳδοῖς προκαλεσαίμην αὐτὸν εἰς ἀντίδοσιν, δεκάκις ἀν ἔλοιτο χορηγῆσαι μᾶλλον ἢ ἀντι-

time. — ἀγρίως ἀποδέξησθε: this verb is generally used of kindly or willing receptions (*cf.* xii. 28 and xix. 6, *τοὺς ἐλέγχους ἡδη ἔθελοντες ἀποδέξεσθε*), but as here in Ant. iii. β. 2, δυσχερῶς ἀποδεξαμένους μον τὴν ἀπολογίαν. — τολμήσαντες: for the meaning, see on xii. 5.

8. φαινούμην λαμβάνων: not ἔφαινην, for the impf. idea is in the participle. See on xvi. 5. — τότε ἀφαιρεθείην: on this emphatic use of τότε after νῦν, *cf.* Dinarch. i. 93, νῦν ἐπειδὴ . . . τρυπαντά, Anth. Pal. ix. 138, νῦν δ' ὅτε τε χρήσθαι μή δύναμαι, τότε ἔχω. See App.

9. σαφέστατα μόνος ἀνθρώπων: an exaggerated combination of the common phrase μόνος ἀνθρώπων with σαφέστατα ἀνθρώπων (for the latter *cf.* xxix. 2, *οἱ ἔκεινος οἰκεῖται* ἀνθρώπων ἔχρητο); *cf.* iii. 31, ἐμσει τάστων ἀνθρώπων μᾶλιστα. So unus and the superlative in Latin with or without omnium, as in Cic. *Prov. Consul.* 12, unus omnium nequissimus, *Planc.* 97, urbem unam mihi

amicissimam. — κατασταθεῖς: the pass. instead of the commoner intrans. second aor. act. (used in xxi. 1, καταστὰ δὲ χορηγός, xxvii. 3, φίλακες ὦφ' ὑμῶν καταστάτετε, *cf.* xii. 48). So Antiphon vi. 11, ἐπειδὴ χορηγός κατεστάθην, Hyperides, *Athenog.* 15. 9, ὦπ' ἔκεινον κατασταθεῖς ἀρχῶν. Lysias has the aor. pass. also in xiii. 35, ἐπειδὴ οἱ τριάκοντα κατεστάθησαν, but the second aor. act. in the same phrase in xii. 5; *cf.* xii. 36, 43, 55; xiii. 34; xxi. 4; xxv. 14. See App. — χορηγός: see on xii. 20. The great expense of the Chorégia is in amusing contrast to the speaker's poverty. — ἀντίδοσιν: 'an exchange of property.' When a man was assigned a liturgy but considered that it should have been assigned to some other person, he might challenge that person to assume the liturgy or to exchange properties with him. A lawsuit followed a refusal of the challenge. On the subject, see Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v.; M. and S. p. 740 f; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 361 ff. — εἰ τού: 'on an

δοῦναι ἄπαξ. καὶ πῶς οὐ δεινόν ἐστι νῦν μὲν κατηγορεῖν
καὶ διὰ πολλὴν εὐπορίαν ἐξ ἵσου δύναμαι συνεῖναι τοὺς
πλουσιωτάτους, εἰ δὲ ὡν ἐγὼ λέγω τύχοι τι γενόμενον,
ὅμολογεῖν ἀν ἐμὲ τοιοῦτον εἴναι καὶ ἔτι πονηρότερον;

10. Περὶ δὲ τῆς ἐμῆς ἵππικῆς, ἣς οὐτος ἐτόλμησε μνησθῆ-
ναι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, οὔτε τὴν τύχην δείσας οὔτε ὑμᾶς αἰσχυ-
νοθείς, οὐ πολὺς ὁ λόγος. ἐγὼ γὰρ οἶμαι, ὡς βουλή, πάντας
τοὺς ἔχοντάς τι δυστύχημα τοῦτο ζητεῖν καὶ τοῦτο φιλο-
σοφεῖν, ὅπως ὡς ἀλυπότατα μεταχειριοῦνται τὸ συμβε-
βηκὸς πάθος. ὡν εἴς ἐγώ, καὶ περιπεπτωκὼς τοιαύτη
συμφορὰ ταύτην ἐμαυτῷ ῥάστωνην ἔξηγον. εἰς τὰς ὄδους
11 τὰς μακροτέρας τῶν ἀναγκαίων. ὁ δὲ μέγιστον, ὡς βουλή,
τεκμήριον ὅτι διὰ τὴν συμφορὰν ἀλλ' οὐ διὰ τὴν ὑβριν,
ὡς οὐτός φησιν, ἐπὶ τοὺς ἵππους ἀναβαίνω. εἰ γὰρ
ἐκεκτήμην οὐσίαν, ἐπ' ἀστράβης ἀν ὠχούμην, ἀλλ'

equality with'; cf. § 3. — εἰ δὲ ... πονηρότερον: the thought is, 'should an ἀντίδοσις be proposed, he would admit that I am as poor (*τοιούτον*) as I profess to be, or even wretcheder still.' For πονηρός in this sense, cf. Isaeus, I. 12, τελευτήσαντος γάρ Δεινού καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων ἡμίν πονηρῶς ἔχότων, and And. I. 118.

10. *ἱππικής*: (sc. τέχνης), *horse-
manship*, purposely used with a
satirical turn, meaning a little more
than mere 'riding.' Xenophon wrote
a book Περὶ Ἰππικῆς. — *τέχην*: for-
tunam, cf. [Isocr.] I. 29, κοινὴ γάρ η
τέχη καὶ τὸ μέλλον ἀδρατον, and see
on § 22. — *δέστας*, *αἰσχυνθεὶς*: cf.
xxxii. 13. — *φιλοσοφεῖν*: this word,
though purposely affected in the
mouth of the cripple, did not yet
signify speculative thought, but

meant to *make a thing one's study*;
cf. Isocr. xv. 121, τοῦτ' ἐφιλοσόφει καὶ
τοῦτ' ἐπράττει, δικιας μηδεμίᾳ τῶν πολέων
αὐτὸν φοβήσεται, iv. 6, σκοπεῖν καὶ
φιλοσοφεῖν τοῦτον τὸν λόγον (*theme*).
See Jebb, *Attic Orators*, II, p. 37. —
ὅν εἰς ἐγώ: the emphasis on ἐγώ is
such that εἰμι is omitted; cf. Plat.
Euthyd. 304 C, φιλήκοος μὲν ἐγώνε καὶ
ἡδέως δὲ τι μακθάνοιμι, though the
emphasis there is secondary. On
such omissions, see Kr. *Spr.* 62, 1, 5.
— *ταύτην*: for the gender, see on
xii. 37. — *τῶν ἀναγκαίων*: partitive
genitive. See App.

11. ὁ δὲ μέγιστον κτλ.: introductory
rel. phrase, cf. xxxii. 24. — *ἀστράβης*:
a padded saddle with a back, almost
a chair, used by invalids, women, or,
as in Dem. xxii. 133, effeminate men.
It was placed on mules, whence Har-

οὐκ ἐπὶ τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ἵππους ἀνέβαινον· νυνὶ δ'
70 ἐπειδὴ τοιοῦτον οὐ δύναμαι κτήσασθαι, τοῖς ἀλλοτρίοις
12 ἵπποις ἀναγκάζομαι χρῆσθαι πολλάκις. καίτοι πῶς
οὐκ ἀτοπόν ἐστιν, ὡς βουλή, τοῦτον ἀν αὐτόν, εἰ μὲν ἐπ'
ἀστράβης ὁχούμενον ἔώρα με, σιωπᾶν — τί γὰρ ἀν καὶ
ἔλεγεν; — ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς ἥτημένους ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, πει-
τι ρᾶσθαι πείθειν ὑμᾶς ὡς δυνατός εἰμι; καὶ ὅτι μὲν δυοῖν
βακτηρίαιν χρῶμαι, τῶν ἄλλων μιᾶς χρωμένων, μὴ κατη-
γορεῖν ὡς καὶ τοῦτο τῶν δυναμένων ἐστίν, ὅτι δ' ἐπὶ τοὺς
ἵππους ἀναβαίνω, τεκμηρίως χρῆσθαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς ὡς εἴμι
τῶν δυναμένων; οἷς ἐγὼ διὰ τὴν αὐτὴν αἰτίαν ἀμφοτέροις
80 χρῶμαι.

13 Τοσοῦτον δὲ διενήνοχεν ἀναισχυντίᾳ τῶν ἀπάντων
ἀνθρώπων, ὥστε ὑμᾶς πειρᾶται πείθειν, τοσούτους ὄντας
εἰς ἄν, ὡς οὐκ εἴμι τῶν ἀδυνάτων ἐγώ. καίτοι εἰ τοῦτο
πείσει τινὰς ὑμῶν, ὡς βουλή, τί με κωλύει κληροῦσθαι τῶν

pocration and others say that the word came to mean mule. See Göll's edition of Becker's *Charicles*, II, p. 14. and Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 481. — *ἵππους*: the speaker could not have been very badly disabled, for the horse was ridden without saddle or stirrups. — *ἀνέβαινον*: *ἄν* is understood; see on xvi. 8.

12. *τί γὰρ ἀν καί*: for the force of *καί*, see on xii. 29, and cf. § 23, below. — *ἥτημένους*: borrowed. Cf. xix. 27, *χαλκώματα . . . αἰτησάμενος ἔχρήσατο*, Xen. *Anab.* v. 1. 11, *αἰτησάμενοι παρὰ Τραπεζούντιων μακρὰ τλοῖα*. — *τῶν δυναμένων*: for the meaning, see on xxxii. 23. The gen. is possessive. G. 1094, 1; see on xii. 41. — *ἀμφοτέροις*: *i.e.* horses and sticks.

13. *τοσούτους . . . ἄν*: for the phrase, see on xxxi. 31. — *εἰ τοθτο πιστα*: if he is going to persuade, not a future condition. See G. 1391; H. 893 c; GMT. 407; and cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 3. 16, *εἰ δὲ καὶ τῷ ἥγεμῳ πιστεύσομεν . . . τί κωλύει καὶ τὰ δικρά ἡμῖν κελεύει Κύρον προκαταλαβεῖν*; — *κληροῦσθαι τῶν ἐννέα ἀρχόντων*: although, by the letter of the law, members of the fourth Solonian class of citizens (the Thetes) were not eligible to the archonship, yet in practice at this period the law was evaded. Cf. Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 7. 3; 26. 2; and see Gilbert, *Antiq.* pp. 153, 157. Hence the cripple was debarred only by his physical condition. One who was not *ὅλος ληπτός* (physically perfect) could

85 ἐννέα ἀρχόντων, καὶ ὑμᾶς ἐμοῦ μὲν ἀφελέσθαι τὸν ὄβολὸν
ώς ὑγιαίνοντος, τούτῳ δὲ ψηφίσασθαι πάντας ὡς ἀνα-
πήρῳ; οὐ γὰρ δήπου τὸν αὐτὸν ὑμεῖς μὲν ὡς δυνάμενον
ἀφαιρήσεσθε τὸ διδόμενον, οἱ δὲ θεσμοθέται ὡς ἀδύνατον
14 ὄντα κληροῦσθαι κωλύσουσιν. ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὕτε ὑμεῖς
οὐτούτῳ τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχετε γνώμην, οὐθ' οὐτος . . . εὖ ποιῶν.

οἱ μὲν γὰρ ὁσπερ ἐπικλήρους τῆς συμφορᾶς οὖστης ἀμφισ-
βητήσων ἦκει καὶ πειράται πεύθειν ὑμᾶς ὡς οὐκ εἰμὶ τοι-
ούτος οἶνον ὑμεῖς ὄρατε πάντες· ὑμεῖς δὲ (οἱ τῶν εὖ φρο-
νούντων ἔργον ἔστι) μᾶλλον πιστεύετε τοῖς ὑμετέροις αὐ-
τοῖς τῶν δόθαλμοῖς ἢ τοῖς τούτου λόγοις.

15 Λέγει δ' ὡς ὑβριστής εἴμι καὶ βίαιος καὶ λίαν ἀσελ-
γῶς διακείμενος, ὁσπερ, εἴ φοβερῶς ὄνομάστει, μέλλων
ἀληθῆ λέγειν, ἀλλ' οὐκ, ἀν πάνυ πραόνως, ταῦτα ποιήσων.
ἔγω δ' ὑμᾶς, ὡς βουλή, σαφῶς οἶμαι δεῖν διαγιγνώσκειν
100 οῖς τὸ ἔγχωρεν τῶν ἀνθρώπων ὑβρισταῖς εἶναι καὶ οῖς οὐ

not perform the religious functions of the office. See M. and S. p. 240; Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 593. For the use of *κληροῦσθαι*, see on *xxxii. 33*; and for the gen., see on *xxxii. 5*. — *ἀφελέσθαι* and *ἀφαιρήσεσθε*: for the different constructions following them, see on *xxxii. 19*. — *θεσμοθέται*: these had charge of the drawing of the lots for the choice of magistrates; cf. Aeschin. *III. 13*.

14. ἀλλὰ γάρ: see on *xii. 99*. — οὐ ποιῶν: on the lacuna, see App. — ὁσπερ ἐπικλήρους: when there were no sons, a man's daughter was called *ἐπικληρος* and went with the inheritance. To keep this in the family (see on *xxxii. 4*), the nearest relative was entitled to marry her, and, to

make this possible, even marriages made before she became an *ἐπικληρος* might be annulled. Many lawsuits arose from such cases. On the subject, see M. and S. p. 614 ff.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Epiclerus*. Hence the cripple jestingly speaks of his *συμφορά* as an *ἐπικληρος*, dowered as it is with his allowance. — *ἀμφισβητήσων*: the regular word used of claims to property or to an heiress.

15. λίαν: a rather rare adv., but occurring four times in this speech (§§ 16, 21, 25). — φοβερῶς ὄνομάστει: 'call me dreadful names,' i.e. ὑβριστής, βίαιος κτλ. — πραόνως: (as if from a *πράστρος*), used also in Ar. *Ran.* 856, for the usual *πράως*. — ταῦτα ποιήσων: i.e. ἀληθῆ λέξων.

16 προσήκει. οὐ γὰρ τὸν πενομένους καὶ λίαν ἀπόρως δια-
κειμένους ὑβρίζειν εἰκός, ἀλλὰ τὸν πολλῷ πλείω τῶν
ἀναγκαίων κεκτημένους· οὐδὲ τὸν ἀδυνάτους τοῖς σώμα-
σιν ὄντας, ἀλλὰ τὸν μάλιστα πιστεύοντας ταῖς αὐτῶν
105 ῥώμαις· οὐδὲ τὸν ἥδη προβεβηκότας τῇ ἡλικίᾳ, ἀλλὰ
17 τὸν ἔτι νέους καὶ νέαις ταῖς διανοίαις χρωμένους. οἱ μὲν
γὰρ πλούσιοι τοῖς χρήμασιν ἔξωνύνται τὸν κινδύνους,
οἱ δὲ πένητες ὑπὸ τῆς παρούσης ἀπορίας σωφρονεῖν
ἀναγκάζονται· καὶ οἱ μὲν νέοι συγγνώμης ἀξιούνται τυγ-
110 χάνειν παρὰ τῶν πρεσβυτέρων, τοῖς δὲ πρεσβυτέροις
18 ἔξαμαρτάνουσιν ὁμοίως ἐπιτιμῶσιν ἀμφότεροι· καὶ τοῖς
μὲν ἴσχυροῖς ἐγχωρεῖ μηδὲν αὐτοῖς πάσχουσιν οὐδὲ ἀν-
βουληθῶσιν ὑβρίζειν, τοῖς δὲ ἀσθενέστιν οὐκ ἔστιν οὔτε
115 ὑβριζομένοις ἀμύνεσθαι τὸν ὑπάρξαντας οὔτε ὑβρίζειν
βουλομένοις περιγύγνεσθαι τῶν ἀδικουμένων. ὥστε μοι
δοκεῖ ὁ κατίγορος εἰπεῖν περὶ τῆς ἐμῆς ὑβρεως οὐ σπου-
δάζων, ἀλλὰ παῖζων, οὐδὲ ὑμᾶς πεῖσαι βουλόμενος ὡς
εἰμὶ τοιοῦτος, ἀλλ' ἐμὲ κωμῳδεῖν βουλόμενος, ὥσπερ τι
καλὸν ποιῶν.

16. For the commonplaces of this section, cf. Arist. *Rhet.* II. p. 1378 b, 28, οἱ νέοι καὶ οἱ πλούσιοι ὑβρισταί· ὑπερέχειν γὰρ οἰνοταὶ ὑβρίζοντες, and *Ag. Plut.* 584, where Πεντα says: κοσμύτης οἰκεῖ μετ' ἔμοι, τοῦ πλούτου δ' ἔστιν ὑβρίζειν. — Note the unusual (for Lysias) number of antitheses.

17. ἔξωνύνται τὸν κινδύνους: sc. by compromising with or bribing persons whom they have wronged; cf. *xxvii.* 6, μέρει τῶν ἀδικημάτων ('of their ill-gotten gains') τὸν κινδύνον ἔξεπλαντο. — ὑπὸ τῆς ἀπορίας: see on § 6, and *xii.* 3.—ἀμφότεροι: i.e. young and old.

18. τὸν ὑπάρξαντας: frequently used absolutely of the person who gives the provocation, as in *Isocr.* xvi. 44, οὐδὲ ἀμνόμενος ἀλλ' ὑπάρχων (ultrō) ἡδίκεις αὐτοῖς, [Dem.] lix. 15, τιμωρεῖσθαι τὸν ὑπάρξαντα, Menander, *frag.* 358 Kock, ὡς οὐχ ὑπάρχων, ἀλλὰ τιμωρούμενος, but also with a genitive as [Dem.] lix. 1, τῇς ἔχθρας πρότερος οὗτος ὑπῆρχεν. So the simple verb; cf. *Lys.* iv. 11, εἰ οὗτος ἡρχε χειρῶν ἀδίκων ἦ ἔγω πρότερος τούτοις ἐπάταξα and τὸν ἀρξαντα τῆς πληγῆς with οἱ ἀρχοντες in *Ant.* iv. β. 2. — τῶν ἀδι-
κουμένων: 'their victims.' — βουλό-
μενος: for its repetition, see on xvi.

19 Ἐπι δὲ καὶ συλλέγεσθαι φησιν ἀνθρώπους ὡς ἐμὲ πονηροὺς καὶ πολλούς, οἱ τὰ μὲν ἑαυτῶν ἀνηλώκαστι, τοῖς δὲ τὰ σφέτερα σώζειν βουλομένοις ἐπιβουλεύουσιν. ὑμεῖς δὲ ἐνθυμήθητε πάντες ὅτι ταῦτα λέγων οὐδὲν ἐμοῦ κατηγορεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ἄλλων ὅσοι τέχνας ἔχουσιν, οὐδὲ τῶν 125 ὡς ἐμὲ εἰσιόντων μᾶλλον ἢ τῶν ὡς τοὺς ἄλλους δημιουργούς. ἔκαστος γὰρ ὑμῶν εἴθισται προσφοιτᾶν ὃ μὲν πρὸς μυροπάλιον, ὃ δὲ πρὸς κουρεῖον, ὃ δὲ πρὸς σκυτοτομεῖον, ὃ δ' ὅποι ἀν τύχῃ, καὶ πλεῦστοι μὲν ὡς τοὺς ἐγγυτάτω τῆς ἀγορᾶς κατεσκευασμένους, ἐλάχιστοι δὲ ὡς 130 τοὺς πλεῦστον ἀπέχοντας αὐτῆς· ὥστ' εἰ τις ὑμῶν πονηρίαν καταγνώσεται τῶν ὡς ἐμὲ εἰσιόντων, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς ἄλλοις διατριβόντων· εἰ δὲ κάκείνων, ἀπάντων Ἀθηναίων· ἀπαντες γὰρ εἴθισθε προσφοιτᾶν καὶ διατρίβειν ἀμονγέπου.

13. — **ἀσπερ . . . ποιῶν**: *doing a fine thing, as it were.* See App. to xii. 7. In connexion with *κωμῳδεῖν*, however, *ποιῶν* possibly means *composing*.

19. **συλλέγεσθαι**: of course, as Rauchenstein remarks, the accuser had not objected to the men, but to their character, and the stress would be on *πονηρούς*, not on *συλλέγεσθαι* or *πολλούς*. The defence, however, very neatly pretends to misunderstand the charge and reverses the emphasis by putting *συλλέγεσθαι* first and *πολλούς* after instead of, as usual, before the other adjective. Thus the accuser is made to blame the habits of all Athens. On these habits and on the shops mentioned in the next section, see p. 107.

20. **ὅποι ἀν τύχῃ**: sc. *προσφοιτῶν*. See on xii. 18. — **κατεσκευασμένους**:

properly the verb means *fit up*, as *πρῶτον μὲν διδασκαλεῖον* (for a chorus) *ἢ τὴν ἐπιτηδειότατον τῆς ἐμῆς οἰκλας κατεσκεύασα*, Antiphon vi. 11; in the middle, *set up shop, open a business, κατασκεύασμαι τέχνην μυρεψικήν· ἀφορμῆ* (see on § 24) *δὲ δέομαι*, Lys. *frag. 1. 2*, also with *τὴν τράπεζαν*, Isaeus, *frag. 15. 3*, and *κατεσκευασμένος λαμπτρότατον λατρεῖον*, Antiphanes, *frag. 208* Kock; used absolutely as here (though not of shopkeeping), Thuc. ii. 17. 3, *κατεσκευάσαντο δὲ καὶ ἐτοῖς πόργοις τῶν τειχῶν πολλοῖ* (sc. of the Athenians crowded into the city during the Peloponnesian war). — **καταγνώσεται**: for the acc. and the gen., see G. 1123; H. 752 a. — **πάντων Ἀθηναίων**: without the article, see on xvi. 15. — **ἀμονγέπου**: i.e. *ἀμοῦ γέ που, somewhere or*

21. Ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐκ οἴδ’ ὁ τι δεῖ λίαν με ἀκριβῶς ἀπολογού-
μενον πρὸς ἐν ἔκαστον ὑμῖν τῶν εἰρημένων ἐνοχλεῖν
πλείω χρόνον. εἰ γὰρ ὑπέρ τῶν μεγύστων εἰρηκα, τί δεῖ
περὶ τῶν ὁμοίως τούτῳ φαύλων σπουδάζειν; ἐγὼ δ’ ὑμῶν,
ω̄ βουλή, δέομαι πάντων τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχειν περὶ ἐμοῦ διά-
22 νοιαν, ἥνπερ καὶ πρότερον. μηδ’ οὐ μόνου μεταλαβεῖν
ἔδωκεν ἡ τύχη μοι τῶν ἐν τῇ πατρίδι, τούτου διὰ τουτονὶ
ἀποστερήσητέ με· μηδ’ ἀ πάλαι κοινῇ πάντες ἔδοτέ μοι,
νῦν οὖτος εἰς ὡν πείση πάλιν ὑμᾶς ἀφελέσθαι. ἐπειδὴ
γάρ, ω̄ βουλή, τῶν μεγύστων ἀρχῶν διάμων ἀπεστέρη-
145 σεν ἡμᾶς, ἡ πόλις ἡμῶν ἐψηφίσατο τοῦτο τὸ ἀργύριον,
ἡγουμένη κοινὰς εἶναι τὰς τύχας τοῖς ἀπασι καὶ τῶν
23 κακῶν καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν. πῶς οὖν οὐκ ἀν δειλαιότατος
εἶην, εἰ τῶν μὲν καλλίστων καὶ μεγύστων διὰ τὴν συμφο-
ρὰν ἀπεστερημένος εἶην, ἀ δ’ ἡ πόλις ἔδωκε προνοηθεῖσα
ιωτῶν οὐτῶν διακειμένων διὰ τὸν κατήγορον ἀφαιρεθείην;

other. The nom. ἀμός is cited by ancient grammarians as Doric for *τις*, and the stem appears in οὐδαμοῖ, οὐδαμοῦ. Though ἀμογέτον occurs elsewhere only in Schol. Plat. *Soph.* 259 D, we find ἀμωσγέπως, Lys. xiii. 7, ἀμηγέπη, Plat. *Rep.* 474 C, Αρ. *Ach.* 608, ἀμόθεν γέ ποθεν, Plat. *Gorg.* 492 D. See Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 614.

21. ἀλλὰ γάρ: see on xii. 99. —
ἡμῖν: belongs to ἐνοχλεῖν, a hyper-
baton as in § 27. See on xii. 94. —
ὑπέρ and περὶ: see on § 4. — μεγύστων:
i.e. his infirmity and poverty. — τῶν
ὁμοίως τούτῳ φαύλων: the point of
φαῦλος, as in our *common, mean,*
slight; cf. Shakespeare's 'Away,
slight man!'

22. οὐ μόνου: partitive gen. with
μεταλαβεῖν. The relative clause here
precedes the antecedent; see on
xii. 43. — πάντες . . . εἰς ἄν: see
on xxxi. 31. — δ δαίμων: for the
relation between δαίμων and τύχη,
cf. Dem. xviii. 208, τῷ τύχῃ δ’,
ἡν δ δαίμων ἔνειμεν ἐκάστοις, ταύτη
κέχρηται, and Eur. *Med.* 671, ἀπαιδές
ἔσμεν δαίμονός τινος τύχη. Thus Lysias
here employs the words; cf. also xiii.
63, ἡ δὲ τύχη καὶ δ δαίμων πειρετοῦσε,
and [Lys.] ii. 78, δ δαίμων δ τὴν ἡμε-
τέραν μοίραν εἰληχώς ἀπαραίτητος. —
ἡμᾶς: not equiv. to ἐμέ, for he now
speaks of the whole class of ἀδύνατοι.
κοινὰς κτλ.: see on § 10.

23. δειλαιότατος: the use of this
generally poetic word increases the

μηδαμῶς, ὡς βουλή, ταύτη θῆσθε τὴν ψῆφον. διὰ τί γὰρ
 24 ἀν καὶ τύχοιμι τοιούτων ὑμῶν; πότερον ὅτι δι’ ἐμέ τις εἰς
 ἀγῶνα πάποτε καταστὰς ἀπώλεσε τὴν οὐσίαν; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ
 ἀν εἰς ἀποδείξειεν. ἀλλ’ ὅτι πολυπράγμων εἰμὶ καὶ θρα-
 155 σὺς καὶ φιλαπεχθήμων; ἀλλ’ οὐ τοιαύταις ἀφορμαῖς
 25 τοῦ βίου τυγχάνω χρώμενος. ἀλλ’ ὅτι λίαν ὑβριστὴς
 καὶ βίαιος; ἀλλ’ οὐδὲ ἀν αὐτὸς φήσειεν, εἰ μὴ βούλοιτο
 καὶ τοῦτο ψεύδεσθαι τοῖς ἄλλοις ὁμοίωσ. ἀλλ’ ὅτι ἐπὶ
 τῶν τριάκοντα γενόμενος ἐν δυνάμει κακῶς ἐποίησα πολ-
 160 λοὺς τῶν πολιτῶν; ἀλλὰ μετὰ τοῦ ὑμετέρου πλήθους
 ἔφυγον εἰς Χαλκίδα, καὶ ἔξον μοι μετ’ ἐκείνων ἀδεῶς
 26 πολιτεύεσθαι μεθ’ ὑμῶν εἰλόμην κινδυνεύειν ἀπάντων. μὴ
 τοίνυν, ὡς βουλή, μηδὲν ἡμαρτηκὼς ὁμοίων ὑμῶν τύχοιμι

parody of *pathos*. Cf. Aeschin. i. 172, ἐκκοτεῖς δὲ δελαιος ἀμφοτέρους τοὺς δρ-
 θαλμοὺς καὶ τὴν γλώτταν ἀποτμῆθεις.
 — ταύτη κτλ.: cf. Isaeus, VIII. 46,
 ὃ δίκαιων ἔστι, ταύτη τὴν ψῆφον τίθεσθε.
 τύχοιμι ... ὑμῶν: cf. XVIII. 23, οὐσι-
 ὑμῶν ἐν τοῖς κινδύνοις τεθύνονται, and
 And. III. 21, τοισι τιτῶν Λακεδαιμο-
 νίων τυγχάνονται;

24 πότερον, ἀλλά, ἀλλά: a fa-
 vorite formula in abrupt questions,
 cf. XXXI. 24; for ἀλλά, see on XII.
 40. — οὐδὲ ἀν εἰς: see on XXXI.
 30. — πολυπράγμων: the regular
 word applied to a *busybody*. —
 ἀφορμαῖς τοῦ βίου: 'condition in
 life,' referring to his description in
 § 16. *ἀφορμή*, *starting point*, as a
 military term means 'base of opera-
 tions,' Thuc. i. 90. 2, *τὴν τε Πελο-
 πόνησσον τάσιν ἔφασαν Ικανὴν εἶναι . . .*
 ἀφορμή, and in business 'capital,'
 cf. Lys. *frag.* i. 2 (quoted on § 20),
 Dem. XLV. 5, *τὰ χρήματα . . . ἀ τῆς*

τραπέζης εἶχεν ἀφορμήν, but it is also
 used in a more general sense, as
 here, in Dem. XXI. 137, *τὴν βίαν καὶ*
τὴν φιλοπραγμοσύνην δρῶντας τὴν τοῦ
τοῦ καὶ τὴν ἀφορμήν, ἤπερ ισχυρὸν ποιεῖ
καὶ φοβερὸν τὸν κατάπτυστον τουτοῦ.

25. γενόμενος ἐν δυνάμει: see on
 VII. 27. — πλήθους: see on XII. 42. —
 εἰς Χαλκίδα: in Euboea. For the facts,
 see on XII. 95. — ἀπάντων: an exag-
 geration of the facts like that in XII.
 53; cf. XIII. 47, *συλλήβδην ἀπαντεῖ*
*ὑπὲ τῶν τριάκοντα ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος ἔκη-
 λάθητε.* See App.

26. ὁμοίων τοῖς πολλὰ τρικτηκόσιν: = οἷον ὑμῶν τυγχάνουσιν οἱ πόλλα τρι-
 κτηκότες. For a similar brachylogy
 (H. 1058), cf. Xen. Oec. xiii. 11, *ἀδυ-
 μίλια (sc. δοκεῖ) ἐγγίγνεσθαι τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς,*
ὅταν δρῶσι . . . τῶν ὁμοίων τυγχάνοντας
ἐαυτοῖς τοὺς μήτε ποτε μήτε κινδυνεύειν
*ἔθελοντας, and so with *ἴσος*, ibid. 12,*
*οὐδὲ ὀπωστιοῦν τῶν ίσων ἀξιῶ τοὺς ἀμει-
 ρούς τοῖς κακοῖσι τυγχάνειν.* See Kühn.

τοῖς πολλὰ ἡδικηκόσιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ψῆφον θέσθε περὶ
 165 ἐμοῦ ταῖς ἄλλαις βουλαῖς, ἀναμνησθέντες ὅτι οὗτε χρῆ-
 ματα διαχειρίσας τῆς πόλεως διδωμι λόγον αὐτῶν, οὗτε
 ἀρχὴν ἄρξας οὐδεμίαν εὐθύνας ὑπέχω νῦν αὐτῆς, ἀλλὰ
 27 περὶ ὄβολοῦ μόνον ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους. καὶ οὗτως
 ὑμεῖς μὲν τὰ δίκαια γνώσεσθε πάντες, ἐγὼ δὲ τούτων ὑμῖν
 170 τυχῶν ἔξω τὴν χάριν, οὗτος δὲ τοῦ λοιποῦ μαθήσεται μὴ
 τοῖς ἀσθενεστέροις ἐπιβουλεύειν ἀλλὰ τῶν ὁμοίων αὐτῷ
 περιγίγνεσθαι.

§ 543, 3, Anm., Kr. *Spr.* 48, 13, 9. —
 ταῖς ἄλλαις βουλαῖς: on the facts see
 p. 117. — εὐθύνας: see Introd. § 7. —
 περὶ ὄβολοῦ μόνον: a really pathetic
 note is struck here, in strong contrast

to the general tone of this speech. —
 ποιοῦμαι τοὺς λόγους: see on XII. 2.
 27. τούτων: refers to δίκαια. —
 ὑμῖν: for the hyperbaton, see on
 § 21.

AGAINST PHILON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE speeches *For Mantis* and *Against Philon* are counterparts. Each was delivered at the δοκιμασία¹ of a senator, but in the former a candidate defends himself, in the latter a candidate is attacked. Philon, a citizen of the deme Acharnae,² a man unknown to us except from what we learn of him here, had played a contemptible part during the time of the Thirty. He was forced, like others, to leave the city, but, far from joining or assisting the patriots under Thrasybulus, he went across the boundary into Boeotia, and, setting his private interests above his country's good,³ lived the life of a freebooter, preying upon his weaker countrymen. After the fall of the Tyrants he returned to Athens and was chosen by lot to the Senate.⁴ At his δοκιμασία, a member of the outgoing Senate⁵ accused him in the present oration.

After an introduction⁶ designed to show that no private grudge, but simply his respect for the senatorial oath, brings him forward against Philon, the speaker gives his definition of what a good senator ought to be,⁷ and then shows, by way of strong contrast, what the accused really is. During the year of anarchy, he says, Philon sided with neither party,⁸ but got together all his property

¹ On this subject in general, see Introd. § 8.

² § 16.

³ § 17.

⁴ § 33.

⁵ See p. 74.

⁶ §§ 1-4.

⁷ §§ 5-7.

⁸ No allusion whatever is made in this speech (*cf.* § 27 f.) to the traditional 'law' of Solon, which is said to have required every citizen to adopt the one side or the other in a civil dis-

turbance. If this was ever a real *law*, and not merely a doctrine or ideal principle, evidently it was obsolete in the time of Lysias, else reference to it would have been made in this speech. The 'law' appears first in Arist. *Resp.* *Ath.* 8.5; *cf.* also Plut. *Solon*, 20, *Moral.* p. 550 B, 823 F; Cic. *Att.* x. 1. 2; Gell. II. 12. On the subject, see Lüders, in *Jahrb.* XCVII, p. 54.

and went to live in Oropus.⁹ Without the excuse, which others had, of physical disability or of poverty, he held himself aloof, showed no interest in the contest, and contributed neither arms nor money to the patriots, as so many others had done.¹⁰ Far from such thoughts, his mind was set only on his own personal profit, and he seems to have behaved like a perfect pirate, organizing raids against those helpless citizens whose age prevented them from leaving their country homes or from defending themselves.¹¹ Worse than all the rest, his character was so notorious in his own family that his very mother did not dare to trust him with the money for her burial.¹² There is no ground whatever for giving him the senatorship,—on the contrary, he deserves punishment, not reward.¹³ As for his claim that there was no law forbidding citizens to leave the scene of action at a crisis, this very fact is one of the heaviest counts against him. There was no law because nobody had ever imagined that an Athenian could be guilty of such vile desertion. The very metics lent a hand in the hour of peril, and they were rewarded for their devotion. Shall not this wretch suffer — if nothing worse — the disgrace of exclusion from the Senate?¹⁴ His whole record shows him unfit for the post, and those who are now his advocates never thought of asking his aid when the State was really in need.¹⁵ He himself can never complain of his rejection by a body whose corporate existence he never lifted a finger to save.¹⁶ This rejection, concludes the speaker, is assured in advance by the essential difference between the unheard-of baseness of Philon and the high character of the men who are his judges.¹⁷

This speech is not lacking in fire and force, and it gives us a lifelike picture of a man of despicable character.¹⁸ Yet it

⁹ §§ 8-9.

¹⁰ §§ 10-16.

¹⁸ Dante would have put him among the ‘accidious,’ with those caitiff angels

¹¹ §§ 17-19.

¹² §§ 20-23.

Che non furon ribelli
Nè fur fedeli a Dio, ma per a' furo.

¹³ §§ 24-26.

¹⁴ §§ 27-30.

¹⁵ §§ 31-32.

¹⁶ § 33.

¹⁷ § 34. In the foregoing summary I

L'Inferno, III, 38.

have followed chiefly Blass, *Att. Bereds.*

I, p. 481 ff.

is somewhat more rhetorical in parts than is usual with the works of Lysias.¹⁹ This may be because it deals so much with a question of high principle, affecting the national life, rather than with the individuality of one man, whether the speaker or the accused. But there is no overcolouring, and the orator never allows himself to go too far. All his statements are carefully supported by witnesses. And at the very climax of his passion (§§ 27-29), where there was danger that his audience would feel that he was proving too much, the ideal of moderation prevails and the accuser, instead of allowing himself to call for exile or capital punishment of this traitor, returns to the actual case in hand and asks merely that Philon be rejected.²⁰ In this oration, therefore, Lysias again shows himself a master of the principle of suiting the speech to the speaker. The accuser, actuated by no personal enmity against the accused, should not exhibit bitterness; still, aside from his senatorial rank, the very fact that he came forward voluntarily would lead his hearers, in spite of his protestation of inexperience,²¹ to expect from him a speech that was, in its artistic construction, something beyond the common.

We have nothing upon which to base an exact date for the delivery of the speech. Blass sets it at about 398 B.C., Weidner a little earlier.

¹⁹ E.g., *Paronomasia*, §§ 9, 11, 17, 24, 26, 32. *Gnomic thoughts*, §§ 6, 11. *Antithesis*, §§ 2, 28. *Hypophora*, § 24 f. *Parallelism*, § 17. It is noticeable also that the articular infinitive is used eleven times in this speech, out of

but thirty-six occurrences in the whole of Lysias; see Birklein, *Entwickel. der subst. Infin.* p. 60.

²⁰ See Rauchenstein's introduction.

²¹ § 2; see Blass, *ibid.* p. 484.

ΚΑΤΑ ΦΙΛΩΝΟΣ ΔΟΚΙΜΑΣΙΑΣ.

1. Ὡμην μέν, ὡς βουλή, οὐκ ἂν ποτ' εἰς τοῦτο τόλμης Φίλωνα ἀφικέσθαι, ὥστε ἐθελῆσαι εἰς ὑμᾶς ἐλθεῖν δοκιμασθησόμενον· ἐπειδὴ δὲ οὐχ ἐν τι μόνον ἀλλὰ πολλὰ τολμηρός ἐστιν, ἐγὼ δὲ ὁμόσας εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὸ βουλευτικὸν τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν τῇ πόλει, ἔνεστί τε ἐν τῷ ὅρκῳ ἀποφανεῖν εἴ τίς τινα οἶδε τῶν λαχόντων ἀνεπιτήδειον ὄντα βουλεύειν, ἐγὼ τὴν κατὰ τοιτοὺς Φίλωνος ποιῆσομαι κατηγορίαν, οὐ μέντοι γε ἵδιαν ἔχθραν οὐδεμίαν μεταπορευόμενος, οὐδὲ τῷ δύνασθαι καὶ εἰωθέναι λέγειν ἐν ὑμῖν ἐπαρθείς, ἀλλὰ τῷ πλήθει τῶν ἀμαρτημάτων αὐτοῦ πιστεύων καὶ τοῖς ὅρκοις οἷς ὡμοσα ἐμμένειν ἀξιῶν.

1. φημην μέν: 'until now I believed'; so begins Isaetus vii. 1. Cf. Lys. vii. 1. — θελήσαι: 'bring him-self,' see on xii. 53. — εἰς ὑμᾶς: cf. xxxii. 1. — ὁμόσας: the oath of office of a senator is meant; cf. [Dem.] lxx. 4, διωμοκὼς δὲ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύειν τῷ δῆμῳ τῷ Ἀθηναίω, Xen. Mem. i. 1. 17, τὸν βουλευτικὸν δρκὸν διόρθωσας, ἐν φέντῃ κατὰ τοὺς νόμους βουλεύσειν. — τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύσειν: cf. § 31 and xxx. 10, Κλεοφῶν τὴν βουλὴν ἐλοιδόρει, φάσκων συνεστάναι καὶ οὐ τὰ βέλτιστα βουλεύειν τῇ πόλει.

2. ἔνεστι τε: for the simple τε used to connect clauses, cf. xxiii. 3, xxxii.

i, 22. — ἀποφανεῖν: preserving the tense of the oath, cf. Xen. quoted above. — τῶν λαχόντων: sc. τῷ κυάμῳ, and see on § 33. — ἀνεπιτήδειον: part of the inquiry at the δοκιμασία of magistrates was εἰτ' ἐπιτήδειοι εἰσιν ἀρχειν εἴτε καὶ μή, Poll. viii. 44. — ίδιαν ἔχθραν: personal enmity (a proper ground in cases like xii. 2) would be out of place when one spoke for the State. — μεταπορευόμενος: in this sense unique in Attic where the usual word is μέτειψι or μετέρχομαι. — τῷ δύνασθαι: causal. G. 1647; H. 969. See App. and p. 135, note 19.

3 γνώσεσθε μὲν οὖν ὅτι οὐκ ἀπὸ ἵσης παρασκευῆς ἐγώ τε τοῦτον ἐλέγξω οἶός ἐστι καὶ οὗτος ἐπεχείρησε πονηρὸς εἶναι. . . ὅμως δ' εἴ τι ἐγώ ἐλλείποιμι τῷ λόγῳ τῆς κατηγορίας, οὐκ ἀν δίκαιος εἴη οὗτος διὰ τοῦτο ὡφεληθῆναι, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον, ὅ τι ἵκανῶς διδάξαιμι, ἐκ τούτων ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι. ἐνδεῶς μὲν γάρ διὰ τὴν ἀπειρίαν πάντων τῶν τούτων πεπραγμένων, ἵκανῶς δὲ διὰ τὴν περὶ αὐτὸν κακίαν εἰρηκῶς ἀν εἴην. ἀξιῶ δὲ καὶ ὑμῶν, οἵτινες δυνατώτεροι ἐμοῦ εἰσὶ λέγειν, ἀποφῆναι μείζω δύντα αὐτοῦ τὰ ἀμαρτήματα, καὶ ἔξ ὧν ἀν ἐγώ ὑπολίπω, πάλιν αὐτοὺς περὶ ὧν ἵσασι κατηγορῆσαι Φίλωνος· οὐ γάρ ἐκ τῶν ὑπ' ἐμοῦ μόνου λεγομένων δεῖ ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ὁποῖος ἐστι σκέψασθαι.

5. Ἐγώ γάρ οὐκ ἄλλους τινάς φημι δίκαιον εἶναι βουλεύειν περὶ ἡμῶν ἢ τοὺς πρὸς τῷ εἶναι πολίτας καὶ ἐπιθυμοῦντας τούτουν. τούτοις μὲν γάρ μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντά

3. οὐκ ἀπὸ ἵσης παρασκευῆς κτλ.: 'I am not so well prepared.' For the use of ἀπό, cf. xxi. 10, καὶ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀπὸ τύχης ἐγίγνετο, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ παρασκευῆς τῆς ἐμῆς. — καὶ οὗτος κτλ.: 'as he was when he entered upon his course of wickedness.' Note τε . . . καὶ. — δίκαιος: 'entitled.' On the personal usage, cf. § 20, and see G. 1527; H. 944 a. But a different sense must be given it with ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι. — δ τι: singular, though τούτων is plural; see on xii. 37.

4. τὴν ἀπειρίαν: *my lack of acquaintance.* — περὶ αὐτόν: 'attaching to him'; cf. Isocr. xii. 76, τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν δόξης, *his own fame.* See App. — εἰρηκῶς ἀν εἴην: the rare perf. opt. GMT. 103, 104. He is anticipating

the end of his speech. — οὐκ ἀπὸ κτλ.: the other senators are to continue the accusation through the material which the speaker leaves unused. — πάλιν αὐτούς: *themselves in their turn*, contrasted with ἐγώ.

5. Here the speaker gives his conception of a good senator. — περὶ: approaches closely the meaning of ὑπὲρ with gen. Cf. xxxiv. 10, ἀνδρας ἀγαθὸν περὶ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ ἡμῶν αὐτῶν γίγνεσθαι. — πρὸς τῷ εἶναι: *being.* See App. — ἐπιθυμοῦντας τούτου: (sc. τοῦ εἶναι πολίτας) 'are really in love with their condition.' — τὰ διαφέροντα: *the difference, the odds*, in another sense in xxxii. 1. On the phrase, cf. Thuc. ii. 43. 5, μεγάλα τὰ διαφέροντα, ἢν τι πτα-

έστιν εὐ τε πράττειν τὴν πόλιν τήνδε καὶ ἀνεπιτηδείως,
διὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον σφίσιν αὐτοῖς ἥγεινθαι εἴναι μετέχειν
ωτὸ μέρος τῶν δεινῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ τῶν ἀγαθῶν μετέχουσι·
8 δοσοὶ δὲ φύσει μὲν πολῖταί εἰσι, γνώμῃ δὲ χρῶνται ὡς
πᾶσα γῆ πατρὶς αὐτοῖς ἔστιν ἐν ἥ ἀν τὰ ἐπιτήδεια ἔχωσιν,
οὐτοὶ δῆλοι εἰσιν ὅτι καν παρέντες τὸ τῆς πόλεως κοινὸν
ἀγαθὸν ἐπὶ τὸ ἑαυτῶν ἰδιον κέρδος ἐλθοιεν διὰ τὸ μὴ τὴν
7 πόλιν ἀλλὰ τὴν οὐσίαν πατρίδα ἑαυτοῖς ἥγεινθαι. ἔγω
τοίνυν ἀποφανῶ Φίλωνα τοντονὶ περὶ πλείους ποιησά-
μενον τὴν ἰδίαν ἀσφάλειαν ἡ τὸν κοινὸν τῆς πόλεως κίν-
δυνον, καὶ ἥγησάμενον κρείττον εἴναι αὐτὸν ἀκινδύνως
τὸν βίον διάγειν ἡ τὴν πόλιν σφέειν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις
πολίταις κινδυνεύοντα.

8 Οὗτος γάρ, ὁ βουλή, ὅτε ἡ συμφορὰ τῇ πόλει ἦν (ἥς
ἐγώ, καθ' ὅσον ἀναγκάζομαι, κατὰ τοσοῦτον μέμνημα),
ἐκκεκηρυγμένος ἐκ τοῦ ἀστεως ὑπὸ τῶν τριάκοντα μετὰ

σωσιν. — ἀνεπιτηδείως: *unbecoming-ly*, used euphemistically, cf. xiii. 51, πονηρὰ καὶ οὐκ ἐπιτήδεια τῷ δῆμῳ. — διὰ τὸ κτλ.: join διὰ τὸ ἥγεινθαι. The order shows that ἀναγκαῖον and μετέχειν are emphatic, and the following words are strengthened by the chiasm. — τὸ μέρος: the gen. could not stand here after μετέχειν. Cf. τι, § 9. — ὥσπερ καὶ: even as.

6. πᾶσα γῆ πατρὶς κτλ.: the Greek of the good old sort, to whom his native land was μήτηρ and τροφός (cf. Plat. *Menex.* 237 B, Isocr. iv. 25), had a low opinion of what we call a 'citizen of the world.' This latter notion appears in Eurip. *Frag. Phaethon*, 777 Nauck², ὡς πανταχοῦ γε πατρὶς ἡ βθόκουσα γῆ, and Ar. *Plut.* 1151, πατρὶς γάρ ἔστι πᾶσ' ἡν ἀν πράττη τις

εν. Andocides on the other hand says δλλοθι τε γάρ ὡν πάντα τὰ ἀγαθὰ ἔχειν στερβενος τῆς πατρίδος οὐκ ἀν δεξαληνη, i. 5. — δῆλοι ... δι: instead of the usual participial constr. (GMT. 907, 912) because of παρέντες. For another instance, also caused by the structure of the sentence, cf. xii. 50. — καν: see App.

8. ἡ συμφορά: i.e. Aegos Potami and what followed; cf. xii. 43. — ἥς ἔγώ ... μέμνημα: a common apology, cf. xiii. 43, ἀνιῶμαι μὲν οὖν ὑπομνήσκων τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει, ἀνάγκη δ' ἔστιν, and see on xii. 43; so Cic. *Vatin.* 21, ac ne diutius loquar de auguratu tuo, quod inuitus facio ut recorder ruinas rei publicae. — ἐκκεκηρυγμένος: see on xii. 95. —

τοῦ ἄλλου πλήθους τῶν πολιτῶν, τέως μὲν ὥκει ἐν ἀγρῷ, **πειδὴ** δὲ οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς κατῆλθον εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, καὶ οὐ μόνον οἱ ἐκ τῶν ἀγρῶν ἄλλὰ καὶ οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας οἱ μὲν εἰς τὸ ἄστυ οἱ δ' εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ συνελέγοντο καὶ καθ' ὅσον ἔκαστος οἰός τ' ἦν, κατὰ τοσοῦτον ἐβοήθει τῇ πατρίδι, τάναντίᾳ ἅπασι τοῖς ἄλλοις πολίταις ἐποίησε. **Θ** συσκευασάμενος γὰρ τὰ ἑαυτοῦ ἐνθένδε εἰς τὴν ὑπερορίαν ἐξώκησε, καὶ ἐν Ὁρωπῷ μετοίκιον κατατιθεὶς ἐπὶ προστάτου ὥκει, βουληθεὶς παρ' ἐκείνοις μετοικεῖν μᾶλλον ἢ μεθ' ἡμῶν πολίτης εἴναι. οὐ τούννυν οὐδὲ ὡσπερ ἐνιοί τινες τῶν πολιτῶν μετεβάλλοντο, ἐπειδὴ ἐώρων τοὺς ἀπὸ Φυλῆς πειδὴ οἵς ἐπραττον εὐτυχοῦντας, οὐδὲ τούτων τι τῶν εὐτυχημάτων ἡξίωσε μετασχέν, ἐπὶ κατεργασμένοις μᾶλλον ἐλθεῖν βουλόμενος ἢ συγκατελθεῖν κατεργασάμενός τι τῶν τῇ κοινῇ πολιτείᾳ συμφερόντων· οὐ γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς

οἱ ἀπὸ Φυλῆς: see on xvi. 4. — οἱ ἐκ τῆς ὑπερορίας: including the exiles, like the invalid (xxiv. 25), as well as persons absent on business or for other reasons, like Mantitheus, xvi. 4. Such persons on returning joined each the party he preferred, as the invalid joined the patriots, and Callimachus (Isocr. xviii. 48) the Thirty.

9. **ἔκφεκτοι**: *emigrated*, see on xxix. 14. — **Ὀρωπῷ**: this city, near the border of Attica and Boeotia, belonged to the Athenian alliance until 411, when it was lost by treachery. It then became an independent oligarchy under Thebes. In 402 it was annexed to Boeotia. — **μετοίκιον**: the tax paid by a resident foreigner; see Introd. § 15. — **ἐπὶ προστάτου** **ἥκει**: an expression found (acc. to Lutz, *Präp.* p. 101) else-

where in the orators only in Lycurg. *Leocr.* 145, *οἰκήσας ἐπὶ Μεγάρους ἐπὶ προστάτου*. In it the local sense merges into manner. Cf. Thuc. ii. 63. 3, *εἰ τοι ἐπὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν αὐτόνομοι οἰκήσειαν*, and see H. 799, 1 d. On the *προστάτης*, see Introd. § 15. — **ἐκείνοις**: refers to Ὁρωπῷ. See on *αὐτῶν*, XII. 37. — **μετεβάλλοντο**: the regular word of changes from one political party to another; cf. xviii. 5, xxv. 9. — **τι**: see on *μέρος*, § 5. — **ἐπὶ κατεργασμένοις**: 'after it was all over.' On this sense of *ἐπὶ*, cf. Hdt. viii. 94, *ἐπ' ἔργασμένοις ἀλθεῖν εἰς τὸ στρατόπεδον* (so ix. 77, cf. Aesch. *Pers.* 525), and Xen. *Hellen.* iii. 4. 6, **ἐπὶ τούτοις ἥηθεστι**, Hdt. i. 170, **ἐπὶ διεφθαρμένοις** *Ιωσι*. Note the double paronomasia in *κατεργασμένοις* with *κατεργασάμενος* and in *ἀλθεῖν* with

τὸν Πειραιᾶ, οὐδ’ ἔστιν ὅπου ἔαυτὸν ὑμῖν τάξαι παρέσχεν.
 10 καίτοι γε ὁστις εὐτυχοῦντας ὁρῶν ἡμᾶς ἐτόλμα προδιδόναι,
 τί ποτε ὡς μὴ ἐβούλομεθά γε πράττοντας ἐποίησεν ἄν;
 ὅστις μὲν τούνυν διὰ συμφορὰς ἴδιας οὐ μετέσχον τῶν τότε
 γενομένων τῇ πόλει κινδύνων, συγγνώμης τινὸς ἄξιοι εἰσι
 τυχεῖν· οὐδενὶ γάρ οὐδὲν ἐκούσιον δυστύχημα γίγνεται·
 11 ὅστις δὲ γνώμη τούτῳ ἐπραξαν, οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιοι
 εἰσιν· οὐ γάρ διὰ δυστυχίαν ἀλλὰ δι’ ἐπιβούλην ἐποίη-
 σαν αὐτό. καθέστηκε δέ τι ἔθος δίκαιον πᾶσιν ἀνθρώ-
 ποις τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδικημάτων μάλιστα ὀργίζεσθαι τοῖς
 μάλιστα δυναμένοις μὴ ἀδικεῖν, τοῖς δὲ πένησιν ἢ ἀδυνά-
 το τοῖς τῷ σώματι συγγνώμην ἔχειν διὰ τὸ ἥγεισθαι ἄκοντας

συγκατελθεῖν, and see on § 11.—τάξαι: the regular word of an appointment to military duty. Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 28 D, θετε μὲν με οἱ ἀρχοντες ἔταπτον. On the mood, denoting purpose, see GMT. 772.

10. ὡς μὴ ἐβούλομεθα: a euphemism for *κακῶς*, like *aliter atque vellemus*. Cf. Dem. xxii. 62, τολλὰ γάρ ἡμῶν ἔκαστος οὐχ ὡς βούλεται πράττει, *Isoctr.* xix. 39, τῆς ἀναχωρήσεως οὐχ ολας ἡβούλομεθα γενομένης. The clause has *μη* because it is connected with *πράττοντας*, an *imperf.* partic. serving as protasis of *ἔτοιησεν ἄν.*—συμφορὰς ἴδιας: such as physical disability (cf. xxiv. 3) or poverty.—ἐκούσιον: *of his own wish or will.* An involuntary failure of duty was of course excusable; cf. Dem. xxiv. 49, τοῖς γάρ ἀκοντιν ἀμαρτοῦντι μέτεστι συγγνώμης, οὐ τοῖς ἐπιβούλευσασιν, and Arist. *N. E.* iii. 1, 1, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς ἐκούσιοις ἔπαινων καὶ ψύχων γινομένων, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἀκοντίοις συγγνώμης.

11. γνώμη (*on purpose*), συγγνώμης: *paronomasia*. See on § 9, and cf. Thuc. ii. 62. 3, μὴ φρονήματι μεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ καταφρονήματι. —καθέστηκε: *it is settled or agreed*, stronger than *ἔστι*. Cf. Thuc. i. 76. 2, ἀει καθέστωτος (*it being an established rule*) τὸν ἡσσων ὑπὸ τοῦ δυνατωτέρου κατείργεσθαι. So the perf. of *δοκεῖ*, as *δεδογμένον* γέ ἔστι τὸ Σωκράτη διαφέρειν τινὶ τῶν πολλῶν ἀνθρώπων, Plat. *Apol.* 34 E. —πᾶσιν ἀνθρώποις: see on xvi. 15.—ἀδικημάτων: the gen. of the cause with *οργίζεσθαι*, because the gen. belongs also to *συγγνώμην* *ἔχειν*. In xii. 80 it is used for concinnity with the following clause, so in xxvii. 11. Elsewhere in Lysias this verb is construed with *ὑπέρ* (xii. 2), *ἀντί* (xii. 96), *διά* (xxi. 9), *ἐπί* (xxxii. 21): Froberger. —ἀδυνάτοις τῷ σώματι: cf. xxiv. 4.

12. Application of the foregoing general principle to the case of Philon. Note the chiastic order in

12 αὐτοὺς ἀμαρτάνειν. οὗτος τοίνυν οὐδεμιᾶς συγγνώμης ἄξιός ἐστι τυχεῖν· οὔτε γὰρ τῷ σώματι ἀδύνατος ἦν ταλαιπωρεῖν, ὡς καὶ ὑμεῖς ὁρᾶτε, οὔτε τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀπορος ληπτουργεῖν, ὡς ἐγὼ ἀποδείξω. ὅστις οὖν ὅσον δυνατὸς τῇ ἦν ὀφελεῖν, τοσοῦτον κακὸς ἦν, πῶς οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως ὑπὸ 13 πάντων ὑμῶν μισοῦτο; ἀλλὰ μὴν οὐδὲ ἀπεχθήσεσθε γε τῶν πολιτῶν οὐδενὶ τοῦτον ἀποδοκιμάσαντες· ὃς οὐ τι τοὺς ἑτέρους ἀλλ᾽ ἀμφοτέρους φανερός ἐστι προδοὺς, ὡστε μήτε τοῖς ἐν τῷ ἀστει γενομένοις φίλον προσήκειν εἶναι 80 τοῦτον, — οὐ γὰρ ἡξίωσεν ὡς αὐτοὺς ἐλθεῖν κινδυνεύοντας, — μήτε τοῖς τὸν Πειραιᾶ καταλαβούσιν, — οὐδὲ γὰρ 14 τούτοις ἡθέλησε συγκατελθεῖν. εἰ μέντοι τι μέρος περίεστι τῶν πολιτῶν ὃ τι τῶν αὐτῶν μετέσχε τούτῳ πραγμάτων, μετ' ἑκείνων, ἐάν ποτε (ὅ μὴ γένοιτο) λάβωσι τὴν 85 πόλιν, βουλεύειν ἀξιούτω.

‘Ως οὖν ὥκει τε ἐν Ὁρωπῷ ἐπὶ προστάτου καὶ ἐκέκτητο ἰκανὴν οὐσίαν καὶ οὐτ' ἐν τῷ Πειραιὲν οὐτ' ἐν τῷ ἀστει ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα, ἵνα εἰδῆτε ὅτι ταῦτα πρῶτον ἀληθῆ λέγω, ἀκούσατε τῶν μαρτύρων.

which the two points are taken up : τοῖς πένησιν : ἀδυνάτοις τῷ σώματι :: τῷ σώματι ἀδύνατος : τῇ οὐσίᾳ ἀπορος. — ληπτουργεῖν: in a wide sense, including such public contributions as are mentioned in § 15.

13. τοὺς ἑτέρους : one party.

14. περίεστι : remains, is left over. The whole sentence is of course sarcastic. — τῶν αὐτῶν πραγμάτων : cf. xii. 62. — ὅ μὴ γένοιτο : a regular formula of depreciation, like our ‘Heaven forbid.’ Cf. Dem. xxi. 209, ἐνθυμεῖσθ’, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί, εἰ γένοιτο, ὅ μὴ γένοιτο οὐδὲ ἔσται, οὐτοι.

κέριοι τῆς πολιτείας. — ἄν... πόλιν: a secondary prot., really part of the apodosis. GMT. 510. The main prot. is εἰ... πραγμάτων. — λάβωσι τὴν πόλιν : cf. xii. 57. — ἔθετο τὰ ὅπλα : equiv. to οὐδὲ ἔστι... τάξαι παρέσχεν, § 9, ‘took his post,’ i.e. for battle or service in general. Cf. Dem. xxi. 145, αὐτὸς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δῆμου θέμενος τὰ ὅπλα, δἰς μὲν ἐν Σάμῳ, τρίτον δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῇ πόλει, τῷ σώματι τὴν εὔνοιαν, οὐδὲ χρήματι οὐδὲ λόγοις ἐνεδείξατο τῇ πατρίδι. — πρῶτον: to begin with. Cf. Dem. xxxvii. 8, οὐδὲ οὖν ταῦτα πρῶτον ἀληθῆ λέγω, τούτων τοὺς μάρτυρας ὑμῖν παρέξομαι.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

15. 'Τπολείπεται τοίνυν αὐτῷ λέγειν ὡς τῷ μὲν σώματι δι' ἀσθένειάν τιν' ἐπιγενομένην ἀδύνατος κατέστη βοηθῆσαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτὸς ἡ χρήματ' εἰσενεγκεῖν εἰς τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ὑμέτερον ἡ ὀπλίσαι τινὰς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ δημοτῶν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι πολ-
16. λοὶ τῶν πολιτῶν αὐτοὶ οὐδὲνάμενοι ληγουργεῖν τοῖς σώ-
μασιν. ἵνα οὖν μὴ ἐγγένηται αὐτῷ ψευσαμένῳ ἔξαπατῆ-
σαι, καὶ περὶ τούτων ἡδη σαφῶς ὑμῶν ἀποδείξω, ἐπειδὴ
ὑστερον οὐκ ἔξεσται μοι παρελθόντι ἐνθάδ' ἐλέγχειν αὐ-
τὸν. καὶ μοι κάλει Διότιμον τὸν Ἀχαρνέα καὶ τοὺς αἱρε-
100. θέντας μετ' αὐτοῦ τοὺς δημότας ὀπλίσαι ἀπὸ τῶν εἰσενεχ-
θέντων χρημάτων.

15. *τῷ σώματι*: it was the duty of a good citizen to serve the state *τῷ σώματι καὶ τοῖς χρήμασι*, Lys. xxv. 4; cf. And. II. 18, ἐκεῖνος δὲ εἰη τολὺ πλείστου ἀξιος ἀνήρ, δοτις τοῖς ἑαυτοῦ παρακινδυνεών χρήμασι τε καὶ σώματι τολμών ἀγαθὸν τι πουεῖν τοὺς ἑαυτοῦ τολμάς. To give money only was less glorious (cf. Dem. xxI. 145 quoted on § 14), but becoming, if physical or other disibility forbade the other. — *ἐπιγενομένην*: *having fallen upon*; cf. Dem. xxxvi. 7, ἐπιγενομένης δ' ἀρρωστίας τῷ Πασιων. This disability was at least a thing of the past; cf. § 12. — *τῶν ὑπαρχόντων*: *his belongings, possessions*, somewhat differently in xxxii. 28. — *ἐπαγγειλάμενος αὐτός*: see on XII. 68. — *εἰσενεγκεῖν*: a sudden change from the construction with *ὡς* after *λέγειν* to the infinitive. A like change occurs in XIII. 78, and the reverse in XIII. 9; even after *ἔλεγον* the former

occurs in Thuc. I. 87. 4. — *τὸ πλῆθος κτλ.*: see on XII. 26. — *ὥσπερ καὶ ἄλλοι*: others besides the infirm helped out their poorer comrades; cf. XVI. 14, and the case of Lysias himself, Introd. § 20.

16. *ἔξαπατῆσαι*: sc. by the method of defence described in XII. 38. — *καὶ περὶ τούτων*: sc. as well as on the first points, on which evidence has already been given. — *οὐκ ἔξιται*: the passage shows that in the *δοκιμασία*, at least of senators, an accuser could speak but once. — *παρελθόντι*: sc. to the speaker's platform; the verb is technical in this sense. — *κάλα*: see on XII. 47. — *Διότιμον*: not otherwise known unless he is identical with *Διότιμος Διομήσος Ἀχαρνές*, CIA. II, 1917. The deme Acharnae was north of Athens. — *ὅπλισαι*: on the mood, cf. *τάξαι*, § 9.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ ΤΩΝ ΑΙΡΕΘΕΝΤΩΝ ΜΕΤΑ ΔΙΟΤΙΜΟΥ.

17 Οὗτος τούννυν οὐχ ὅπως ὀφελήσει τὴν πόλιν ἐν τοιούτῳ καιρῷ καὶ τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει διενοήθη, ἀλλ' ὅπως τι κερδανεῖ ἀπὸ τῶν ὑμετέρων συμφορῶν παρεσκευάσατο· 10 δόρμαμένος γὰρ ἐξ Ὁρωποῦ, τοτὲ μὲν αὐτὸς μόνος, τοτὲ δ' ἑτέροις ἥγονύμενος οἷς τὰ ὑμέτερα δυστυχήματα εύτυχά- 18 χήματα ἐγεγόνει, περιιών κατὰ τὸν ἀγροὺς καὶ ἐντυγχά- νων τῶν πολιτῶν τοὺς πρεσβυτέροις, οἱ κατέμειναν ἐν τοῖς δήμοις ὀλίγα μὲν τῶν ἐπιτηδείων ἔχοντες, τάναγκαῖα δέ, 110 εὗνοι μὲν ὄντες τῷ πλήθει, ἀδύνατοι δὲ ὑπὸ τῆς ἡλικίας βοηθεῖν, τούτους ἀφηρεῦτο τὰ ὑπάρχοντα, περὶ πλείονος ποιούμενος αὐτὸς μικρὰ κερδανεῖν ἢ ἐκείνους μηδὲν ἀδι- κεῖν· οἱ νῦν αὐτὸν δι' αὐτὸν οὐχ οἷοί τέ εἰσιν ἐπεξελ- θεῖν ἀπαντεῖ, δι' ὅπερ καὶ τότε ἀδύνατοι τῇ πόλει βοηθεῖν 19 ἡσαν. οὐ μέντοι τοῦτον γε χρὴ διὰ τὴν ἐκείνων ὀδυνα- μίαν δὶς ὀφεληθῆναι, τότε τ' ἀφελόμενον ἀ εἰχον, νῦν τε

17. **καταστάσις**: here used in a rather general sense, *political condition*, as in *Plat. Rep.* 492 E, *ἐν τοιαύτῃ καταστάσει πολιτεῶν*, but more often the sense is narrower, meaning *constitution*, as frequently in *Arist. Resp. Ath.*, e.g. 41, 42. — **διενοήθη**, **παρεσκευάσατο**: on these synonymous endings of the clauses, see on xvi. 13. — **δόρμαμένος**: often used, in a military sense, of one's base of operations, as in *Xen. Anab.* i. 1. 9, *ἐπολέμει ἐκ Χερρονήσου δόρμαμένος τοῖς Θρᾳξι*. See on *ἀφορμαῖς*, xxiv. 24. Oropus was Philon's headquarters. — **αὐτὸς μόνος**, **ἑτέροις**: for a like contrast, cf. xxxii. 27; sometimes the former member is strengthened into **μόνος**

αὐτὸς καθ' αὐτὸν, xxvi. 11. — **οἰς ... ἐγεγόνει**: the typical good citizen suffered with his country, but not so the bad; cf. xxii. 13, 14.

18. **δήμοις**: of course the country demes are meant. — **τάναγκαῖα**: 'necessaries of life,' which would be included among *ἐπιτήδεια, provisions*, in general. — **ὑπό**: causal; see on vii. 21. — **τὰ ὑπάρχοντα**: see on § 15. — **αὐτὸν**: with *ἐπεξελθεῖν* the dat. would be commoner; see App. — **ἀπαντεῖ**: as the words *κλέον δοτισοῦν κτλ.* in § 19 show, the speaker had but few witnesses or fellow-accusers; hence this explanation of the fact that so few appeared against a man like Philon. — **δι' αὐτὸν τοθό**: i.e. their age and poverty.

δοκιμασθέντα ύφ' ύμῶν· ἀλλὰ κανὸν ὁστισοῦν παραγένηται τῶν ἀδικηθέντων, μέγα αὐτὸν ἡγήσασθε εἶναι καὶ τοῦτον ὑπερμισήσατε, δστις ἐτόλμησεν, οἷς ἔτεροι διδόναι παρ' 120 ἑαυτῶν τι προηροῦντο διὰ τὴν ἀπορίαν οἰκτίραντες αὐτούς, τούτων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα. κάλει μοι τοὺς μάρτυρας.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

20 Οὐ τούννυ ἔγωγε οἶδα ὅ τι ύμᾶς διαφερόντως δεῖ γιγνώσκειν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἡ οἱ οἰκεῖοι γιγνώσκουσι· τοιαῦτα γάρ 125 ἔστιν, ὥστ' εἰ καὶ μηδὲν αὐτῷ ἄλλο ἡμάρτητο, διὰ μόνα ταῦτα δίκαιον εἶναι ἀποδοκιμασθῆναι. οἶσα μὲν οὖν ζῶσα ἡ μήτηρ αὐτοῦ κατηγόρει παρήσω· ἐξ ὧν δὲ τελευτῶσα τὸν βίον διεπράξατο τεκμαιρομένοις ράδιον ἔστιν ύμῶν 21 γνῶναι ὁποῖος τις ἦν περὶ αὐτῆν. ἐκείνη γὰρ τούτῳ μὲν 130 ἡπίστησεν ἀποθανοῦσαν ἑαυτὴν ἐπιτρέψαι, Ἀντιφάνει δὲ οὐδὲν προσήκουσα πιστεύσασα ἔδωκεν εἰς τὴν ἑαυτῆς.

19. ὁστισοῦν: *anybody at all.* H. 1002 a. — μέγα: 'a great point,' 'of great weight.' Cf. Eur. *Phoen.* 549 f., τι τὴν τυραννίδ', ἀδικιαν ἐδαίμονα, τιμᾶς ὑπέρφεν καὶ μέγ' ἡγησαι τέδε; and Xen. *Cyr.* v. 3. 19, μέγα τοιοῦμαι φίλιον τοῦτο τὸ χωρίον τοῖς ἐνθάδε συμμάχοις καταλείπων. — παρ' ἁντάν: from their own means, a common use of παρά with reflexives (Lutz, *Präp.* p. 143), cf. xxvi. 24, οὐ φάσκων αὐτὸς λύτεσθαι, εἰ μὴ τοῦτο (i.e. a sum of thirty minae) αὐτῷ παρὰ σφῶν αὐτῶν παράσχουεν. — τούτων ἀφαιρεῖσθαι τὰ ὑπάρχοντα: the same verb in § 18 takes two accs., and the like variety occurs in xxiv. 13. G. 1069, 1071; H. 724, 748 a.

20. γιγνώσκειν: *feel.* — τοιαῦτα: referring to the state of mind of Phi-

lon's relatives. See App.—δίκαιον: see on § 3. — κατηγόραι: *reproached.* — παρήσω: a favourite rhetorical device, rousing suspicion in the jury's mind against the accused, often groundlessly. See on xii. 43, and cf. Auct. *ad Herenn.* iv. 37, ut utilius sit occulite fecisse suspitionem, quam eius modi intendisse orationem, quae redarguatur.

21. οὐδὲν προσήκουσα: concessive and subordinate to πιστεύσασα. To pass over (παραλιποῦσα) one's own son and enjoin the charge of the ταφὴ νομίζουση (see on xii. 96) to a comparative stranger was to cast on the former the worst of stigmas. The thought of burial by one's children was a comforting hope; cf. xiii. 45, where it is said of the aged, ἥλπιζον

ταφὴν τρεῖς μνᾶς ἀργυρίου, παραλιποῦσα τοῦτον ὑὸν ὄντα ἔαυτῆς. ἀρα δῆλον ὅτι εὐ ̄δει αὐτὸν οὐδὲ διὰ τὸ προσή-
 22 κειν αὐτὴ τὰ δέοντα ἀν ποιήσαντα; καίτοι εἰ μήτηρ, ἡ
 135 πέφυκε καὶ ἀδικουμένη ὑπὸ τῶν ἔαυτῆς παιδῶν μάλιστα
 ἀνέχεσθαι καὶ μίκρ' ὥφελουμένη μεγάλα ἔχειν ἡγεῖσθαι
 διὰ τὸ εὐνοίᾳ μᾶλλον ἡ ἐλέγχω τὰ γιγνόμενα δοκιμάζειν,
 • ἐνόμιζε τοῦτον κἀν ἀπὸ τεθνεώστης φέρειν ἔαυτῆς, τί χρὴ
 23 ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτοῦ διανοηθῆναι; ὅστις γὰρ περὶ τοὺς
 140 ἔαυτοῦ ἀναγκαίους τοιαῦτα ἀμαρτάνει ἀμαρτήματα, τί
 ἀν περὶ γε τοὺς ἀλλοτρίους ποιήσειεν; ὡς οὖν καὶ
 ταῦτ' ἀληθῆ ἔστιν, ἀκούσατε αὐτοῦ τοῦ λαβόντος τὸ
 ἀργύριον καὶ θάψαντος αὐτὴν.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΙΑ.

24 Τί ἀν οὖν βουληθέντες ὑμεῖς τοῦτον δοκιμάσαιτε;

ὑπὸ τῶν σφετέρων αὐτῶν παιδῶν γηρο-
 τροφέντες, ἐπειδὴ τελευτήσειν τὸν βίον
 ταφήσεσθαι. Of the son's duty to his
 father the law of Solon enjoined,
 ἀποδανόντα δὲ αὐτὸν θαπτέτω καὶ τάλλα
 ποιείτω τὰ τομίζμενα, Aeschin. I. 13.
 Neglect of this duty meant rejection
 at the δοκιμαστα, see Introd. § 8. —
 τρεῖς μνᾶς: not a large sum for the
 purpose, in fact the smallest men-
 tioned in the authors; cf. Boeckh,
Staatsk. I, p. 146, and Lys. XXXII. 21.
 — ἀρα δῆλον: the addition of δῆλον
 shows that ἀρα here = non ne. Kr.
 Spr. 69, 9.

22 εἰ μήτηρ: if a mother. The
 speaker begins with a general
 thought, but at ἐνόμιζε τοῦτον passes
 to the particular case, as in XII. 84,
 XXIII. 12. — μικρὰ . . . δοκιμάζειν :

tried by the test of a mother's love
 (εὐνοίᾳ), not by any legal scrutiny
 (ἐλέγχῳ), even small services from
 her children seem great. Cf. Soph.
 El. 770, δεινὸν τὸ τίκτειν (motherhood)
 ἔστιν· οὐδὲ γὰρ κακῶς πάσχοντι (even
 though wronged) μῆσος ὡν τέκη προσ-
 γίγνεται. — φέρειν: plunder, rob. The
 expression was proverbial, Arist.
 Rhet. II. 6. 5, τὸ κερδαίνειν ἀπ' ἀδυνά-
 των, οἷον τενήτων ἡ τεθνεώτων· δόθεν καὶ
 ἡ παροιμία, τὸ κἀντὸν νεκροῦ φέρειν.

24. τί βουληθέντες: used (though
 generally the partic. is pres.) in an im-
 patient sort of question to which the
 speaker believes that no well ground-
 ed answer can be given. Cf. I. 45,
 τί δὲ οὖν βουλόμενος ἐκινδύνευεν; Plat.
 Phaed. 63 A, τί γὰρ ἀν βουλόμενοι
 ἀδρες σοφοί ὡς ἀληθῶς δεσπότες

145 πότερον ὡς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκότα; ἀλλὰ τὰ μέγιστα περὶ τὴν πατρίδα ἡδίκηκεν· ἀλλ’ ὡς ἔσται βελτίων; τοιγάρτοι πρότερον βελτίων γενόμενος περὶ τὴν πόλιν ὕστερον βουλεύειν ἀξιούτω, φανερόν τι ἀγαθὸν ὥσπερ τότε κακὸν ποιήσας. σωφρονέστερον γάρ ἔστιν ὕστερον πᾶσι τῶν 150 ἔργων τὰς χάριτας ἀποδιδόναι· δεινὸν γὰρ ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ εἶναι, εἰ ἔξ ὀν μὲν ἡδη ἡμάρτηκε μηδέποτε τιμωρηθήσεται, 25 ἔξ ὀν δὲ μέλλει εὖ ποιήσειν ἡδη τετιμήσεται. ἀλλ’ ἄρα ἵνα βελτίους ὥσιν οἱ πολῖται ὄρῶντες ἄπαντας ὁμοίως τιμωμένους, διὰ τοῦτο δοκιμαστέος ἔστιν; ἀλλὰ κίνδυνος 155 καὶ τοὺς χρηστούς, ἐὰν αἰσθάνωνται ὁμοίως τοὺς πονηροὺς τιμωμένους, παύσεσθαι τῶν χρηστῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων, τῶν αὐτῶν ἡγουμένους εἶναι τούς τε κακοὺς τιμᾶν καὶ τῶν

ἀμείνους αὐτῶν φεύγοιεν; — πότερον, ἀλλὰ, ἀλλὰ (§ 25): see on xxiv. 24. — ὡς οὐχ ἡμαρτηκότα: *on the ground that he has not offended.* See on xii. 2. — περὶ ... ἡδίκηκεν: elsewhere Lys. uses the simple acc. with ἀδικέω; here he may have been influenced by his use of *περὶ* with acc. twice in § 23 as well as with *πόλιν* below. In Dem. *περὶ* and acc. is freq. with ἀδικέω, and Fuhr adds *CIA.* II, 811 c, 154, ἐάν τις ἀδικῇ *περὶ* τὰ ἐν τοῖς νεωρίοις. — ὡς ἔσται: *on the ground that he will be a better man*, the somewhat rare use of *ὡς* in a causal sentence with indic., seeming to have the 'subjective' force (i.e. it expresses the ground on which the subject of *δοκιμάσατε* is supposed to act), as with the partic. *ἡμαρτηκέτα* above. See Kr. *Spr.* 65, 8, and App. — τοιγάρτοι: *accordingly, then*, said with reference to Philon's promised improvement implied in *ὡς ἔσται βελτίων*. — πᾶσι:

see App. — *ἡδη, ἡδη*: Rauchenstein notes this poignant repetition (observe also the jingle in *τιμωρηθήσεται* and *τετιμήσεται*, cf. § 26), in which the first *ἡδη* refers to the past, *already*, and the second means *at once, immediately*. For the latter sense (which is often also the feeling of the fut. perf., see G. 1266; GMT. 79), cf. Dem. viii. 2, καν ἡδη δοκῆ καν ἐπισχοδιν (after waiting a while), Xen. *Anab.* i. 4. 18, ἐγώ μὲν ἡδη ὑμᾶς ἐπαινῶ. θώς δὲ καὶ ὑμεῖς ἐμὲ ἐπαινέσετε ἔμοι μελήσει.

25. ἄρα: gives an ironical tone to the clause; cf. § 28, Plat. *Apol.* 37 D, ἀλλοι δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰς οἰσουσι βρεδίως; — ὁμοίως: = ἐξ ίσου, sc. ἁντοῖς. — παύσεσθαι: an inf. after κίνδυνος ἔστι is ordinarily pres. or aor., cf. xii. 31 (G. 1521). But the fut. (G. 1277) may also be used, as with κινδυνεῖ in Plat. *Rep.* 459 C. — τῶν αὐτῶν: for the case, see on xii. 41.

26 ἀγαθῶν ἀμνημονεῖν. ἀξιον δὲ καὶ τόδε ἐνθυμηθῆναι, ὅτι εἰ μέν τις φρούριον τι προῦδωκεν ἢ ναῦς ἢ στρατόπεδόν 160 τι, ἐν φιλέρος τι ἐτύγχανε τῶν πολιτῶν ὅν, ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀν ζημίαις ἐζημιούτο, οὗτος δὲ προδοὺς ὀλην τὴν πόλιν οὐχ ὅπως μὴ τιμωρηθήσεται ἀλλ' ὅπως τιμήσεται παρασκευάζεται. καίτοι δικαίως γ' ἀν ὅστις φανερῶς ὥσπερ οὗτος προῦδωκε τὴν ἐλευθερίαν, οὐ περὶ τοῦ βουλεύειν 165 ἀλλὰ περὶ τοῦ δουλεύειν καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ταλαιπωρίας ἀγωνίζοιτο.

27 Ἀκούω δ' αὐτὸν λέγειν ὡς, εἴ τι ἦν ἀδίκημα τὸ μὴ παραγενέσθαι ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ καιρῷ, νόμος ἀν ἐκειτο περὶ αὐτοῦ διαρρήδην, ὥσπερ καὶ περὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἀδικημάτων. 170 οὐ γὰρ οἴεται ὑμᾶς γνώσεσθαι ὅτι διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τοῦ

26. φρούριον τι κτλ.: the procedure against one guilty of *προδοσία* (treason or betrayal) was through an *εἰσαγγελία* (see Introd. p. 187); cf. Hyperid. *Eux.* xxii sq., ὃπερ τίνων οὐν φεσθε δεῖν τὰς εἰσαγγελίας γέγνεσθαι; ... ἐάν τις, φησι (sc. δ. νομοθέτης), ... πόλιν τινὰ προδῷ ἢ ναῦς ἢ πεζὴν ἢ ναυτικὴν στρατιὰν. — ἐν φιλέρος: on the assimilation, see on xii. 29. — ταῖς ἐσχάταις ἀν ζημίαις: one condemned of *προδοσία* was put to death, refused burial in Attica, and his property was confiscated. Cf. Xen. *Hellen.* i. 7. 22, ἐάν τι ἢ τὴν πόλιν προδιδῷ ... ἀν καταγνωσθῇ, (sc. νόμος ἔστι) μὴ ταφῆναι ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ, τὰ δὲ χρήματα αὐτοῦ δημόσια είναι. Hence the bones of Themistocles, who died abroad while under sentence of treason, were buried in Attica secretly, Thuc. i. 138. 6. On the whole subject of *προδοσία*, see M. and S., p. 419 ff.—δλην τὴν πόλιν: on the thought, cf. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 59

(‘he will say perhaps’), ὡς οὐκ ἔποχος ἔστι τῇ προδοσίᾳ· οὐτε γὰρ νεωρίων κύριος οὐτε πυλῶν οὐτε στρατοπέδων οὐθ' δλως τῶν τῆς πόλεως οδοντός. ἔγω δ' ἡγοῦμαι τοὺς μὲν τούτων κυρίους μέρος ἀν τι προδούνται τῆς ὑμετέρας δυνάμεως, τούτοις δ' δλην ἔκδοτον ποιήσαι τὴν πόλιν. — τιμήσεται: fut. mid. as pass. So in Xen. *Cyr.* viii. 7. 15, *Anab.* i. 4. 14; cf. xxii. 11, and see App. and G. 1248; H. 496 a. — παρασκευάζεται: is laying his schemes, often in a bad sense, cf. xii. 60. So ἐπαρασκευής, xiii. 22, but cf. xxxi. 30. — τὴν ἐλευθερίαν: this word leads up well to δουλεύειν. Philon has cared nothing for the general liberty, he deserves to lose his own. On the paronomasia in βουλεύειν, δουλεύειν, see p. 135.

27. λέγων: the tense denotes repetition. G. 1291; H. 824 a. — νόμος: on Solon's law, see p. 133, note 8. — τιπλι αὐτοῦ: not, of course, about absence on that particular occasion,

ἀδικήματος οὐδεὶς περὶ αὐτοῦ ἐγράφη νόμος. τίς γὰρ ἂν ποτε ῥήτωρ ἐνεθυμήθη ἡ νομοθέτης ἡλπισεν ἀμαρτήσε-
 28 σθαί τινα τῶν πολιτῶν τοσαύτην ἀμαρτίαν; οὐ γὰρ ἀν δή που, εἰ μέν τις λίποι τὴν τάξιν μὴ αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως
 176 ἐν κινδύνῳ οὐστης ἀλλ' ἐτέρους εἰς τοῦτο καθιστάσης,
 ἐτέθη νόμος ὡς μεγάλα ἀδικοῦντος, εἰ δέ τις αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνῳ οὐστης λίποι τὴν πόλιν αὐτήν, οὐκ ἀν ἄρα ἐτέθη. σφόδρα γ' ἀν, εἰ τις φήθη τινὰ τῶν πολιτῶν
 29 ἀμαρτήσεσθαί τι τοιοῦτόν ποτε. τίς δ' οὐκ ἀν εἰκότως
 180 ἐπιτιμήσειεν ὑμῖν, εἰ τοὺς μετοίκους μέν, ὅτι κατὰ τὸ προσ-
 ἥκον ἔαυτοῖς ἐβοήθησαν τῷ δήμῳ, ἐτιμήσατε ἀξίως τῆς πόλεως, τοῦτον δέ, ὅτι παρὰ τὸ προσῆκον ἔαυτῷ προῦδωκε τὴν πόλιν, μὴ κολάστε, εἰ μή γε ἀλλῷ τινὶ μείζονι, τῇ γε

but at any such crisis.—*ῥήτωρ*: thus defined in Suidas: *ῥήτωρ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐκαλέστο δὲ δῆμῳ συμβουλεύων καὶ δὲ ἐν δῆμῳ ἀγορεύων, εἴτε Ικανὸς εἰη λέγειν εἴτε καὶ ἀδύνατος, εἴτε καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ βελτίστου καὶ δικαιοτάτου συμβουλεύων εἴτε ἐπ' οἰκεῖοις λήμμασι*. Hence used like our term *statesman* (which too often = *politician*). Cf. xxi. 2.

28. οὐ γὰρ ἀν κτλ.: Fuhr supplies as protasis *εἰ νομοθέτης ἡλπισεν . . . ἀμαρτίαν* from the foregoing. The thought then is: 'had the lawmaker dreamed of the possibility of such a crime, he would never have framed a law against the less, and neglected a law against the greater.'—δή που: marks the sarcasm; see on xii. 27.—μὴ . . . καθιστάσης: the difference here, as Markland noted, is between defensive (*αὐτῆς τῆς πόλεως ἐν κινδύνῳ οὐσης*) and offensive (*ἐτέρους εἰς τοῦτο καθιστάσης*) warfare. The letter of the current law seems to

have provided, naturally enough, against *λιποτάξιον* only in the latter case. But much later, after Chaeronea, the people ἐψηφίσατο ἐνθέους εἶναι τῇ προδοσίᾳ τοὺς φεύγοντας τὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πατρίδος κίνδυνον, Lycurg. Leocr. 53.—ἀδικοῦντος: gen. abs., sc. *αὐτοῦ*.—ἄρα: calls attention to the absurdity of the idea. The influence of the first *οὐ* at the beginning extends over the whole sentence and makes this second clause practically positive in sense.—σφόδρα γ' ἀν: sc. *ἐτέθη*. For the ellipse, see on xii. 34. 29. κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον: the metics were expected to serve in war, both in the infantry, Thuc. ii. 13. 7; 31. 2; iv. 90. 1; and in the fleet, i. 143. 1; iii. 16. 1; but not in the cavalry, Xen. Vect. 2. 5.—ἐτιμήσατε: e.g. by giving them *ἴσοτέλεια* (see Introd. § 15), or to fallen metics public burial along with citizens, [Lys.] ii. 66.—εἰ μὴ κολάστε: a 'minatory' condition,

30 παρούση ἀτιμίᾳ; ἀναμνήσθητε δὲ δι' ὅ τι ποτὲ τοὺς ἀγα-
185 θοὺς ἄνδρας γεγενημένους περὶ τὴν πόλιν τιμάτε καὶ τοὺς
κακοὺς ἀτιμάζετε. παρεδείχθη γὰρ ἀμφότερα ταῦτα οὐ
τῶν γεγενημένων μᾶλλον τι ἔνεκα ἡ τῶν γενησομένων, ἵν'
ἀγαθοὶ προθυμῶνται γύγνεσθαι ἐκ παρασκευῆς, κακοὶ δὲ
31 μηδὲ ἐξ ἐνὸς τρόπου ἐπιχειρῶσιν. ἔτι δὲ ἐνθυμήθητε
190 ποιῶν ἀν ὑμῖν δοκεῖ οὗτος ὅρκων φροντίσαι, ὃς ἔργω τοὺς
πατρίους θεοὺς προῦδωκεν; ἡ πῶς ἀν χρηστόν τι βουλεῦ-
σαι περὶ τῆς πολιτείας, ὃς οὐδὲ ἐλευθερῶσαι τὴν πατρίδα
ἐβουλήθη; ἡ ποῖα ἀν ἀπόρρητα τηρῆσαι, ὃς οὐδὲ τὰ προ-

see on xii. 11. On the moral duty involved, see on xii. 23; and cf. Lycurg. *Leocr.* 74, *χρή τοινυ, ὡς* ἀνδρες, *ώσπερ τοὺς ἀγαθοὺς ἐπαινεῖτε* καὶ τιμάτε, οὔτω καὶ τοὺς κακοὺς μεσεῖτε καὶ κολάζειν. — *εἰ μή γε, τῇ γι:* the repetition of *γε* adds much to the emphasis, ‘actually,’ ‘at least.’ Cf. Xen. *Mem.* i. 5. 3, *εἰ γε μηδὲ δοῦλοις ἀκρατῇ (intemperate) δεξαλμεθ’ ἀν, πῶς οὐν δέξιοι αὐτὸν γε (the master much more) φυλάξασθαι τοιούτοις γενέθαι;* — **ἀτιμίᾳ:** rejection at the δοκιμασία may have entailed some loss in full civic rights; see App.

30. *περί:* for this use, common in the orators, cf. §§ 24, 34, and Ar. *Eq.* 764, *εἰ μὲν περὶ τὸν δῆμον τὸν Ἀθηναίων γεγένημαι βελτιστὸς ἀνήρ.* — **παρεδείχθη:** used of things set forth or exhibited side by side for comparison; cf. Isocr. xii. 39, *ώσπερ τὴν πορφύραν καὶ τὸν χρυσὸν θεωροῦμεν καὶ δοκιμάζομεν ἔτερα παραδεικνύοντες τῶν καὶ τὴν δύναν δύολαν ἔχονταν καὶ τῆς τιμῆς τῆς αὐτῆς δέξιον μένων.* Here it is used like the subst. **παράδειγμα,** common in the sense of a model or

example, to be used as a copy or a warning; cf. § 34 and xvi. 14, xxii. 20. — **προθυμῶνται:** sc. οἱ πολῖται; and for the mood, see on xvi. 6. — **ἐκ παρασκευῆς:** *intentionally, with fixed purpose, in a good sense, but see on § 26.* — **μηδὲ οὐς ἐνὸς τρόπου:** *not by any means, by no manner of means.* The separation of *ἐνὸς* from the negative gives much greater emphasis than *μηδενός.* See G. 378; H. 290 a, and cf. xiii. 33, *οὐδὲ ὅφ’ ἐνὸς (ne ab uno quidem) αὐτὸν προσήκει ἐλεεῖσθαι*, and vii. 28, xvi. 10, xxiv. 24.

31. **ὅρκων:** see on § 1. — **φροντίσαι:** with gen., cf. vii. 17. — **ἔργῳ . . . προῦδωκεν:** he had abandoned his country and its gods to the impious Thirty (cf. xii. 99), yet as an ephebus he had sworn, ἀμνῶ δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ λεπῶν . . . καὶ λεπὰ τὰ πάτρια τιμῆσω. On the oath of the ephebus (here taken from Stob. *Serm.* xliii. 48), see Hermann, *Staatsalt.* p. 458. — **οὐ . . . ἐβουλήθη:** the oath also ran, καὶ δι τις ἀναιρῆ τὸν θεσμὸν ἡ μὴ τελθῆται, οὐν ἐπιτρέψω, ἀμνῶ δὲ καὶ μόνος καὶ μετὰ τάντων. — **ἀπόρρητα:** secret

ειρημένα ποιῆσαι ήξιωσε; πῶς δ' εἰκός ἐστι τοῦτον, ὃς
185 οὐδὲ τελευταῖος ἐπὶ τοὺς κινδύνους ἥλθε, πρότερον τῶν
κατεργασαμένων καὶ οὕτω νῦν τιμηθῆναι; σχέτλιον δ'
ἀν εἴη, εἰ οὗτος μὲν ἄπαντας τοὺς πολίτας περὶ οὐδενὸς
ἥγησατο, οὐδεὶς δὲ τοῦτον ἔνα ὄντα μὴ ἀποδοκιμάσαιτε.

32 Ὁρῶ δέ τινας οἱ νῦν μὲν τούτῳ παρασκευάζονται βοη-
200 θεῖν καὶ δεῖσθαι οὐδῶν, ἐπειδὴ ἐμὲ οὐκ ἥδυναντο πεῖσαι·
τότε δέ, ὅτε οἱ κύνδυνοι μὲν οὐδὲν καὶ οἱ μέγιστοι ἀγῶνες
ἥσαν, τὰ δὲ ἀθλα αὐτὴ ή πολιτεία ἔκειτο, καὶ ἔδει οὐ
μόνον περὶ τοῦ βουλεύειν ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας
βουλεύεσθαι, τότε οὐκ ἐδέοντο αὐτοῦ βοηθῆσαι καὶ οὐδὲν
205 καὶ κοινῇ τῇ πόλει, καὶ μὴ προδοῦναι μῆτε τὴν πατρίδα

sessions of the Senate are meant; cf. XIII. 21, εἰσελθὼν δὲ εἰς τὴν βουλὴν
ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ Θεοκρίτος μηνεῖ κτλ. —
κατεργασαμένων: the work referred
to was the freeing of the country, as
in § 32. — καὶ οὕτω: even in this case.
See App. — ἀπαντας, ίνα δύτα: a fa-
vourable antithesis; cf. XXIV. 13, 22.
εἰ οὗτος μὲν . . . περὶ οὐδενὸς ἥγησατο,
οὐδεὶς δὲ . . . μὴ ἀποδοκιμάσαιτε: the
Greek prefers co-ordination in such
cases, where we should subordinate
the first member, using a word like
while. This first member (unlike the
one in § 24) is not really hypothetical,
but denotes a fact (hence οὐδενός),
while the real hypothesis is in the
second member, hence μὴ. Cf. XXII.
13, and see GMT. 386, 387, and App.
— περὶ οὐδενὸς: see on XII. 7.

32. ὄρω δέ τινας: in referring to
Philon's *συνήγοροι*, see on XII. 86.
Note the double chiasm in the posi-
tion of τούτῳ, οὐδῶν, and ἐμὲ with
regard to their verbs. — ἐμὲ . . . πεῖ-

σαι: such attempts would seem to
have been common, though the
orator may sometimes have invented
them to bring out his own devotion
to the right. Cf. XXX. 34, πολλὰ
δειθέντες τῶν κατηγόρων ήμας μὲν οὐδα-
μῶς ἔπεισαν, and [Lys.] XX. 15, ἐκπρά-
μενοι τὸν κατηγόρους. Similarly in
A.R. Eq. 472 sq., the sausage-seller
says, καὶ ταῦτα μ' οὐτ' ἀργύρων οὔτε
χρυσίον διδοὺς ἀναπελεῖσι οὔτε προσπέμ-
των φίλους, διπλαὶς ἔγω ταῦτ' οὐκ' Ἀθηνα-
ῖοι φράσω. — τὰ δὲ ἀθλα: the art. is
used because the pred. noun is defi-
nite, 'the prize.' G. 956; H. 669 a. —
πολιτεία: not in the broad sense of
form of government (as in XII. 74, cf.
Plat. Resp. 544 D, δυναστεῖαι γὰρ καὶ
ώντατα βασιλεῖαι καὶ τοιαῦται τίτεις
πολιτεῖαι), but signifying the demo-
cracy of Athens. See on XII. 6, and
cf. Harp. 8.v., ίδιως εἰώθασι τῷ δινόματι
χρῆσθαι οἱ βῆτροις ἐπὶ τῆς δημοκρατίας.
— ἔκειτο: technical word with ἀθλα.
So also the compound with προ-, as

μήτε τὴν βουλήν, ἃς νῦν ἀξιοῖ τυχεῖν οὐ μετὸν αὐτῷ,
 33 ἄλλων γε κατεργασαμένων. μόνος δῆ, ὡς βουλή, δικαίως
 οὐδ' ἀν ἀγανακτοίη μὴ τυχών· οὐ γὰρ ὑμεῖς νῦν αὐτὸν
 ἀπιμάζετε, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τότε ἀπεστέρησεν, ὅτε οὐκ
 210 ἤξιώσεν, ὥσπερ νῦν προθύμως κληρωσόμενος ἥλθε, καὶ
 τότε διαμαχούμενος περὶ αὐτῆς καταστῆναι μεθ' ὑμῶν.

34 Ἰκανά μοι νομίζω εἰρῆσθαι, καίτοι πολλά γε παραλι-
 πών. ἀλλὰ πιστεύω ὑμᾶς καὶ ἄνευ τούτων αὐτούς τὰ
 συμφέροντα τῇ πόλει γνώσεσθαι. οὐ γὰρ ἄλλοις τισὶν
 25 ὑμᾶς δεῖ περὶ τῶν ἀξίων ὄντων βουλεύειν τεκμηρίους χρῆ-
 σθαι ηὔμιν αὐτοῖς, ὅποιοί τινες ὄντες αὐτοὶ περὶ τὴν
 πόλιν ἐδοκιμάσθητε. ἔστι γὰρ τὰ τούτου ἐπιτηδεύματα
 κανὰ παραδείγματα καὶ πάσης δημοκρατίας ἀλλοτρία.

in 1. 47, δρῶντες οὖτα τὰ ἀθλα πρόκειται
 τῶν τοιούτων ἀμαρτημάτων.—ἢς: i.e.
 a seat in the bouleū.

33. ἀπιμάζετε: see on ἀπιμάξ, § 29.
 — ὥσπερ νῦν: here *νῦν* means *lately*,
 else the choice by lot would be still
 to come and ἥκει, not ἥλθε, would be
 the proper word. — κληρωσόμενος:
 used technically of the candidate, cf.
 xxiv. 13. Hence λαγχάνω is used of
 the elect, as above in § 2, and in ἡ βουλὴ
 οἱ πεντακόσιοι οἱ λαχόντες τῷ κυάμῳ,
 law in And. 1. 96.—καὶ τότε: anacolu-
 ththontic after ὅτε, caused by the inser-
 tion of ὥσπερ νῦν κτλ. — περὶ: often
 used by the orators of the object or
 stake of a contest; see Lutz, *Präp.*
 p. 132, and Lys. xiii. 17, ἐναντιώσον-

ται περὶ τῆς ἐλευθερίας, III. 43, περὶ
 ἑταῖρας μαχθμενοι. — αὐτῆς: refers to
 the Senate.

34. ικανά μοι κτλ.: a common way
 of leading up to the conclusion (cf.
 xxii. 22, xxiii. 16); employed also
 at the end of a particular part of a
 speech, vii. 9, xii. 37. — καίτοι:
 very rare with the participle. GMT.
 861. See App. — παραλιπών: as if
 ικανὰ νομίζω εἰρηκέναι had preceded.—
 περὶ τὴν πόλιν: see on § 30. — κανά:
 ‘unheard-of.’ — παραδείγματα: bad
 precedents, warnings, cf. § 30; xxvii. 5,
 ζεται παράδειγμα τοῦ μὴ ὑμᾶς ἀδικεῖν.
 — δημοκρατίας: on the case after a
 word denoting the opposite of pos-
 session, see G. 1143; H. 754 c.

AGAINST DIOGITON.

INTRODUCTION.

THE general functions of the modern judge of probate with regard to guardians and wards were in Athens vested in the first archon.¹ Any person who had the right to make a will might in it² appoint for his minor children a guardian (*ἐπίτροπος*) or guardians, who had to qualify before the archon.³ In case of no provision in the will, the archon made the appointment.⁴ However appointed, the guardian entered into all the rights of a father, and became the *κύριος*⁵ of the children: it was his duty to provide for their support⁶ and education,⁷ and to manage their property.⁸

The statute law in many of our States directs a guardian to submit an annual account of the condition of his ward's estate. Though there seems to have been no such provision in Athens, yet there were various ways in which the ward's interests were protected. If the archon was informed or himself became cognizant of neglect or maladministration,⁹ he might take up the case, and, if unable to settle it by a fine, might bring it before a court.¹⁰ Any citizen could inform against a guardian, for any kind of ill-treatment of his ward, by means of the procedure called *εἰσαγ-*

¹ On the general subject, see M. and S. p. 551 ff., adding Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 56.

6 f.; and Hermann, *Rechtsalt.* p. 12 f.; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Epitropus.*

² *ἐπίτροπεύσαι κατὰ διαθήκας*, Dem. XLV. 37; *καταλιπεῖν ἐπίτροπον*, cf. Lys. *fragg.* 43, 75.

³ Isaeus, vi. 36.

⁴ *ἐπίτροπῆς κατάστασις*, Arist. *ibid.* § 6.

⁵ Isaeus, i. 10, v. 10. See on Lys. XVI. 10.

⁶ Dem. xxvii. 60.

⁷ *Ibid.* 46; Plat. *Protag.* 320 A.

⁸ M. and S. p. 558 ff.; but see on § 23.

⁹ Dem. xxx. 6; Aeschin. i. 158.

¹⁰ Arist. *ibid.* § 7; Dem. XLIII. 75. On fines levied by magistrates, *ἐπιβολατ*, cf. Lys. xxx. 3.

γελία ὁρφανῶν κακώσεως,¹¹ or in case of mismanagement of the property, by a φάσις μισθώσεως ὀίκου.¹² The ἀνάκρισις in either case was conducted by the archon, who of course presided over the ensuing suit in the Heliastic court.

Such were the means of protecting wards during their minority. But at the age of eighteen, the boy, after passing his δοκιμασία,¹³ became legally capable of acting for himself. At this time the guardian was obliged to present to him a written inventory of his estate, and an account of receipts and expenditures.¹⁴ If the guardian did not present the account, or if the account submitted was unsatisfactory, the suit called δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς might follow,¹⁵ being brought in the first instance before the archon. In the charge, the ward stated the sum of which he believed that he had been defrauded.¹⁶ The suit was τιμητός,¹⁷ and accuser and accused ran the risk of *epobelia*.¹⁸ The statute of limitations (*προθεσμία*)¹⁹ confined the time within which the suit could be brought to five years.²⁰

It was for such a suit that Lysias wrote the speech *Against Diogiton*. This man had been left as guardian of his brother's three children,—two boys and a girl. Eight years later,²¹ the

¹¹ Arist. *ibid.* § 6; cf. § 7, end; M. and S. pp. 358, 562. An example is Isaeus xi. This is of course a different sort of *εἰσαγγελία* from the public impeachments referred to in Introd. n. 167.

¹² M. and S. p. 361; called in Arist. *ibid.* § 6, ὀίκου ὁρφανικοῦ κακώσεως. See below, on § 23.

¹³ See Introd. § 8.

¹⁴ Λόγος τῆς ἐπιτροπῆς. Cf. § 25, and Dem. xxxvi. 20, xxxviii. 15; see M. and S. p. 561.

¹⁵ M. and S. p. 562, who compare the Roman *suit de rationibus distracti* or *actio tutelae privata*.

¹⁶ Cf. [Dem.] xxix. 31, ἔστιν οὖν τοῦ μὲν ἐγκλήματος ἀρχή “τάδ' ἐγκαλεῖ Δημο-

σθένης Ἀφέδηρος· ἔχει μοῦ χρήματα” “Ἀφέδηρος ἀπ' ἐπιτροπῆς ἔχεντα, δύοδηκοντα μὲν μνᾶς” κτλ. In the Diogiton case, the actual claim was set forth in the young man's charge and opening speech, and may have been repeated in the part of the present oration that is not preserved by Dionysius.

¹⁷ See Introd. § 45. The penalty, however, would be in money only, hence the words *τοῦς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους* in § 2 were mere bravado.

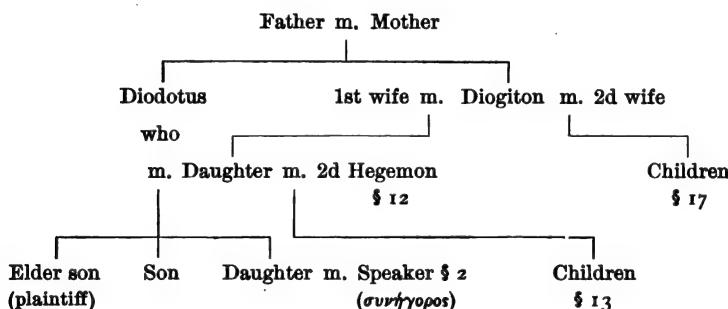
¹⁸ See Introd. § 49, and M. and S. pp. 563, 951.

¹⁹ See p. 4.

²⁰ Dem. xxxviii. 17, 27.

²¹ § 9.

elder son, when he came of age, was told to his consternation that he had nothing to receive from his father's estate. He had had reason to suppose that it was large, amounting originally to thirteen talents²² at the least; he now heard that his father had left a mere trifle.²³ Documents,²⁴ however, through the accidental discovery of an account-book,²⁵ forced Diogiton to admit that he had received nine talents and forty minae.²⁶ But the guardian asserted that it was all spent: two talents on dowries,²⁷ the rest on the children during their minority.²⁸ After all possible efforts at a private settlement had been made,²⁹ there was nothing for the wards to do but to sue their guardian, who was also their grandfather and their uncle.³⁰ The elder son was the actual prosecutor; but, after a brief opening speech, he left the main treatment of the case to a *συντίκοπος*,³¹ his brother-in-law, for whom Lysias wrote the speech before us. The somewhat complicated family relations are made clearer by the following genealogical table:



The closeness of the relationships between the parties in this suit makes the plight of the orphans seem wretched beyond all example; but in giving our sympathy we must remember that in this, as in most other ancient suits, we hear only one side.

²² §§ 4, 5, 6.

²⁶ 7 talents, 40 minae (§ 14) + 2 talents

²³ Twenty minae and thirty Cyzicene staters, § 9.

(§ 15).

²⁴ § 14.

²⁷ §§ 6, 8.

²⁸ § 20.

²⁹ §§ 1-3.

²⁵ § 15.

³⁰ § 5, and see on § 4.

³¹ See Introd. § 36.

Diogiton probably had some explanation to offer in his defence, though, in the face of the evidence against him, it is very hard to conjecture what his defence could have been.³² But suits between wards and guardians were too common for the good name of the Athenians, and in no other instance does the great lack of truth and probity which we constantly have to lament in this people come out more strongly.³³ We know that at least seven of the ten famous orators were often employed in such cases,³⁴ among which that of Demosthenes against his own guardians is the best known. A whole class of *λόγοι ἐπιτροπικοί* or *όρφανικοί* once existed in the MSS. of Lysias,³⁵ but not one remains in them to-day.

We owe the fragment of the speech against Diogiton to the admiration it excited in Dionysius of Halicarnassus,³⁶ who copied it out, adding notes of his own, in the chapter on Lysias contained in his *Commentaries on the Ancient Orators*. He criticized it almost entirely from the standpoint of the rhetorician. Finding in it a remarkable example of excellence in the *προσίμιον*, *διήγησις*,³⁷ and main arguments, he quoted those parts only, omitting some of the arguments as well as the *ἐπίλογος*, a part in which Lysias, according to rhetorical rules, was not by any means strong.³⁸ The views of Dionysius will be found below in his own words.

³² In this connexion it is a pity that the whole of the speech written by Lysias for a guardian who was accused under a *δίκη ἐπιτροπῆς* by his wife's brothers has not been preserved. In the fragment (43), the speaker talks as if guardians were a common mark for 'sycophantic' orphans.

³³ M. and S. p. 561. Legacies were sometimes left to the guardian to remove the temptation to steal from his wards; Dem. xxvii. 5, 45, 65. See also the case of an elder brother and guardian accused of defrauding his ward, Lys. x. 5. The judges had the reputation of siding with wards, pre-

sumably the weaker parties; cf. Dem. xxxviii. 20.

³⁴ M. and S. p. 550 f.

³⁵ We have the titles of at least eight; M. and S. *ibid.*

³⁶ The famous literary critic and rhetorician, who died about the beginning of our era. The lexicographer Photius (ninth century A.D.) also praises the speech in the highest terms (Cod. 262).

³⁷ These terms are explained as they occur below in Dionysius.

³⁸ Blass thinks that we have about two-thirds of the whole speech: *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 613.

But the speech deserves admiration for a quality more interesting to modern readers. This consists in the *ἡθοροΐα* or delineation of the character of Diogiton and of his daughter. Diogiton is the type of heartlessness, and his utter lack of any natural feeling for his grandchildren comes out in the words with which he drives away the boy,³⁹ and all the more clearly for the thin pretence of affection which he has made but a moment before. Bitter irony, sarcastic play upon words, and sharp antithesis are all used to exhibit him in his true light.⁴⁰ The figure of the woman is even better drawn, and the scene in which she appears and the words she speaks are something unique in Greek prose.⁴¹ She finds herself driven, contrary to all the prejudices of an Athenian woman in that age, to speak in a meeting of men, and, not only that, but to speak against her own father. The struggle against the power of custom is great, but the mother's heart is the stronger, and in her words we have its natural outpourings. There is nothing rhetorical nor artificial in what she says: it is not the railing complaint of a woman in a passion, but an appeal which is full of pathos and dignity.⁴²

The date of this suit can be pretty closely determined. The defeat of Thrasyllus at Ephesus, where Diodotus died, was in the Spring of 409 B.C.⁴³ The elder son was under guardianship for eight full years.⁴⁴ Hence, allowing for the attempts at arbitration and for the necessary preliminaries, the suit cannot have been tried until late in 401 B.C.; probably it came on then or soon after.

³⁹ σκέψει αὐτὸς ἡδη πεθεν ἔξεις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια, § 9; cf. Blass, *ibid.* p. 614.

⁴⁰ §§ 22, 23, 25; Blass, *ibid.* p. 614.

⁴¹ §§ 11–18.

⁴² The asyndeton in § 16, as Blass observes, is entirely natural here; so also the mention of the gods in §§ 13, 17. Rauchenstein notes that the woman's reference to Diogiton's treatment of his other children (§ 17) is made without envy, and more in sorrow than

in anger. On the δριμύτης, or staccato effect, natural in a woman's language, see Gildersleeve, *A. J. P.* IX, p. 151, and Devries, *Ethopoia*, p. 48.

⁴³ Xen. *Hellen.* i. 2. 9. Those who, like Jebb, set the date at 410, retain as genuine the opening section of this chapter. The date of the archon Glauccippus, mentioned in Dionysius's hypothesis, is 410–9.

⁴⁴ §§ 20, 29; see on § 9.

ΚΑΤΑ ΔΙΟΓΕΙΤΟΝΟΣ.

Ίνα δὲ βέλτιον τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐγγένηται μαθέν, εἴτε ὅρθως ἡμεῖς ταῦτα καὶ προσηκόντως πεπείσμεθα, εἴτε καὶ διημαρτύκαμεν τὴν κρίσιν, τὴν ἔξέτασιν ἀπὸ τῶν ὑπὸ ἔκεινον γραφέντων ποιήσομαι, προχειριστάμενός τε ἔνα λόγον — οὐ γάρ ἐγχωρεῖ πολλοῖς χρῆσθαι παραδείγμασιν — ἐξ ἔκεινον τήν τε προαίρεσιν καὶ τήν δύναμιν τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἐπιδείξομαι, ἀποχρῆν οἰόμενος ψυχᾶς εὐπαιδεύτοις καὶ μετρίαις μικρά τε μεγάλων καὶ ὀλίγα πολλῶν γενέσθαι δείγματα. ἔστι δὲ ὁ λόγος ἐκ τῶν ἐπιτροπικῶν, ἐπιγραφόμενος Κατὰ Διογείτονος, ὑπόθεσιν δὲ ἔχων τοιάνδε.

Διόδοτος, εἰς τῶν μετὰ Θρασύλλου καταλεγέντων ἐν τῷ Πελοποννησιακῷ πολέμῳ, μέλλων ἐκπλεῖν εἰς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἐπὶ Γλαυκίπουν ἀρχοντος, ἔχων νήπια παιδία, διαθήκας ἐποιήσατο, καταλιπὼν αὐτοῖς ἐπίτροπον τὸν ἑαυτοῦ μὲν ἀδελφὸν Διογείτονα, τῶν δὲ παιδίων θείον τε καὶ πάππον ἀπὸ μητρός. αὐτὸς μὲν οὖν ἐν Ἐφέσῳ μαχόμενος ἀποθνήσκει· Διογείτων δὲ πᾶσαν τὴν οὐσίαν τῶν ὀρφανῶν διαχειρισάμενος καὶ ἐκ πολλῶν πάνυ χρημάτων οὐδὲν ἀποδείξας αὐτοῖς, ἔτι περιῶν κατηγορεῖται πρὸς ἐνὸς τῶν μειρακίων δοκιμασθέντος κακῆς

ON DIONYSIUS. **κρίσιν**: ordinarily a legal word, but here used in the rare sense of one's *critical judgment*. Cf. *γνώμη διαμαρτών*, Dem. xxiv. 48, 110. — **προχειριστάμενος**: *having first treated*, a sense common in Aristotle; but cf. *διεχειρίζεν*, § 27. — **προαίρεσιν**: in classical Greek often signifying a course deliberately chosen in life or politics, or a form of government; here used of Lysias's *method*. — **ψυχαῖς**: *persons*, cf. N. T. *Acts* ii. 41 and 43.

— **μετρίαις**: *reasonable*. See on xvi. 3. — **ἐπιτροπικῶν**: see p. 155. — **Πελοποννησιακῷ**: a rare adj. in Attic, used in Plat. *Legg.* 708 A. — **ἀπὸ μητρός**: *on the mother's side* (cf. Dem. xlvi. 56), but **πρὸς** is more common in the orators in this sense. See Lutz, *Präp.* p. 155. — **πρὸς ἐνὸς**: either (1) *by one*, **πρὸς** being used sometimes in Attic for *ἐπὶ δι*, or (2) *in the name or interest of one*; on both usages, see Kühn. II, p. 447 f. — **κακῆς ἐπιτροπῆς**: *not the*

ἐπιτροπῆς. λέγει δὲ κατ' αὐτοῦ τὴν δίκην ὁ τῆς ἐκείνου μὲν θυγατριδῆς, τῶν δὲ μειρακίων ἀδελφῆς ἀνήρ.

προῦβαλον δὲ τὴν ὑπόθεσιν ἵνα μάλλον γένηται καταφανὲς εἰ μετρά ταῦτα καὶ προσηκούσῃ τῇ ἀρχῇ κέχρηται. — DION. H., V, p. 497 ff. R.

1. Εἰ μὲν μὴ μεγάλα ἦν τὰ διαφέροντα, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, οὐκ ἄν ποτε εἰς ὑμᾶς εἰσελθεῖν τούτους εἴασα, νομίζων αἰσχιστον εἶναι πρὸς τοὺς οἰκείους διαφέρεσθαι, εἰδὼς τε ὅτι οὐ μόνον οἱ ἀδικοῦντες χείρους ὑμῖν εἶναι δοκοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ οἵτινες ἀν ἔλαττον ὑπὸ τῶν προσηκόντων ἔχοντες ἀνέχεσθαι μὴ δύνωνται. ἐπειδὴ μέντοι, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, πολλῶν χρημάτων ἀπεστέρηνται καὶ πολλὰ καὶ δεινὰ πεπονθότες ὑφ' ὅν τὴν ἡκιστα ἔχρην ἐπ' ἐμὲ κηδεστὴν ὄντα κατέφυγον, ἀνάγκη μοι γεγένηται οὐ πεῖν ὑπὲρ αὐτῶν. ἔχω δὲ τὴν τούτων μὲν ἀδελφῆν, Διογέντος δὲ θυγατριδῆν, καὶ πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἀμφοτέρων τὸ μὲν πρώτον ἔπεισα τοῖς φίλοις ἐπιτρέψαι δίαιταν, περὶ

Attic phrase, for which see p. 153. Moeris p. 143 ridicules it: τὸ γάρ κακῆς ἐπιτροπῆς ἀνέτην. ἀγαθῆς γάρ οὐδεὶς δικάξεται. — λέγει τὴν δίκην: this phrase seems to take the place of the usual συνδικεῖ ορ συνηγορεῖ. Cf. Dīnarch. I. III, τὰς δίκας λέγοντος ὑπὲρ Κτησίππου καὶ Φορμίων.

1. τὰ διαφέροντα: the issues at stake, but see on xxxi. 5. — εἰς ὑμᾶς: cf. xxxi. 1. — τούτους: although the elder son was the real plaintiff, doubtless the younger was also in court, if only to excite pity. — αἰσχιστον: a public quarrel or a suit between kindred was a scandal. Cf. Isaeus, I. 6, ἔγώ μὲν γάρ οὐχ ὅτι ἀδίκως κινδυνεύω, τοῦθ' ἡγοῦμαι μέγιστον εἶναι τῶν παρόντων κακῶν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἀγωνίζομαι

πρὸς οἰκείους, οὓς οὐδὲ ἀμύνεσθαι καλῶς ἔχει. See the long excuse at the opening of [Dem.] XLVIII. — τέ: a simple connective. Cf. § 22, and see on xxxi. 2. — χείρους: for the meaning, see on xvi. 3. — ἔλαττον ἔχοντες: 'being taken at a disadvantage,' cf. Plat. Rep. 343 D, δίκαιος ἀνὴρ ἀδίκου πανταχοῦ ἔλαττον ἔχει. Here almost = defrauded. Cf. XII. 49. — ὑφ' ὅν τὴν ἡκιστα ἔχρην: a common phrase; cf. § 10, and Cic. Fam. V. 1, video . . . me desertum a quibus minime conveniebat. — κηδεστὴν: the word signifies any connexion by marriage, affinis, here brother-in-law; see the genealogy on p. 154.

2. πολλὰ δεηθεὶς ἀμφοτέρων: cf. XXX. 34, quoted on xxxi. 32. — τοῖς φίλοις: thus Demosthenes before

πολλοῦ ποιούμενος τὰ τούτων πράγματα μηδένα τῶν ἄλλων εἰδέναι· ἐπειδὴ δὲ Διογείτων ἀ φανερῶς ἔχων ἔξιηλέγχετο, περὶ τούτων οὐδενὶ τῶν αὐτοῦ φίλων ἐτόλμα πείθεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἐβουλήθη καὶ φεύγειν δίκας καὶ μὴ οὕτας διώκειν καὶ ὑπομένειν τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους μᾶλλον ἢ τὰ δίκαια ποιήσας ἀπηλλάχθαι τῶν πρὸς τούτους ἐγκλητῶν, ὑμῶν δέομαι, ἐὰν μὲν ἀποδείξω οὕτως αἰσχρῶς οὐδείς τῶν οὐδὲν προσηκόντων ἐν τῇ πόλει, βοηθεῖν αὐτοῖς τὰ δίκαια, εἰ δὲ μή, τούτῳ μὲν ἄπαντα πιστεύειν, ἡμᾶς δὲ εἰς τὸν λοιπὸν χρόνον ἡγείσθαι χείρους εἶναι. ἐξ ἀρχῆς δ' ὑμᾶς περὶ αὐτῶν διδάξαι πειράσομαι.

bringing suit against his guardians would have preferred *περὶ ὧν διαφέρεια* *τοῖς οἰκείοις ἐπιτρέπειν*, xxvii. 1, cf. xxx. 2, where he says that the guardian ought ἐν τοῖς φίλοις διαδικάσσειν ('settled up') τὰ πρὸς ἔμε. — *ἐπιτρέψαι δίαιταν*: a standing phrase; cf. frag. 16. 2, *οὐδεπώποτ'* ἡθέλησε συνελθεῖν . . . οὐδὲ δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαι, [Dem.] lxx. 45, συνῆγον αὐτοὺς οἱ ἐπιτήδεωις καὶ ἐπεισαγόντες δίαιταν ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτοῖς. Private, not public (Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Diae-tetae*, I, p. 620, 623) arbitrators are meant. They were chosen from persons named by both sides, and arranged a meeting such as that described in § 12 ff. Ordinarily the parties bound themselves to abide by the decision given. See Schoemann, *Gr. Alt.* I, 501; Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 391. — *ἀ φανερῶς κτλ.*: observe that the relative clause stands first. See on xii. 43 and cf. xxiv. 22. — *ἐτόλμα*: for the meaning, cf. §§ 15, 20, and see on xii. 5. — *μὴ οὕτας διώκειν*: bring suit to set aside

his default. When a party to a suit in an ordinary court did not appear, he lost it by default (ἐρήμην δρλεῖν, sc. δίκην, Poll. viii. 60; cf. Plat. *Apol.* 18C, ἐρήμην κατηγοροῦντες). But if his absence was due to illness or other good reason, he might enter a new suit to set his default aside (τὴν δίκην ἀντιλαχεῖν, Poll. viii. 61). When the default occurred before the public arbitrators, this new suit was called ἡ μὴ οὕτας δίκη, and the suitor was said τὴν μὴ οὕταν ἀντιλαχεῖν, Poll. viii. 60; cf. M. and S. p. 974. — *τοὺς ἐσχάτους κινδύνους*: see p. 153, note 17. — *πρὸς*: 'on the part of.' See on xvi. 10.

3. *ἐπιτροπευμένους*: reduplicated like a real compound. Cf. Thuc. i 132, *ἐπετρόπευεν*, and see App. to xii. 73. — *τὰ δίκαια*: cogn. acc. (G. 1064; H. 716 b); cf. v. 1, δοκεῖ αἰσχρὸν εἶναι . . . μὴ βοηθῆσαι Καλλίᾳ τὰ δίκαια. — Here the proem ends and the comments of Dionysius follow.

Τοῦτο τὸ προοίμιον ἀπάσας ἔχει τὰς ἀρετὰς ὅσας δεῖ τὸ προοίμιον ἔχειν. δηλώσουσι δὲ οἱ κανόνες αὐτῷ παρατεθέντες υἱ τῶν τεχνῶν. ἀπαντες γὰρ δή που παραγγέλλουσιν οἱ συνταξάμενοι τὰς τέχνας, ὅταν ἡ πρὸς οἰκείους ὁ ἄγων, σκοπεύν ὅπως μὴ πονηροὶ μηδὲ φιλοπράγμονες οἱ κατήγοροι φανήσονται· κελεύσουσί τε πρῶτον μὲν τὴν αὐτίαν εἰς τὸν ἀντιδίκους περιεστάναι καὶ τοῦ ἐγκλήματος καὶ τοῦ ἀγῶνος, καὶ λέγειν ὅτι μεγάλα τάδικήματα καὶ οὐκ ἐνήν αὐτὰ μετρίως ἐνεγκείν, καὶ ὅτι ὑπὲρ ἀναγκαιοτέρων προσώπων ὁ ἄγων καὶ ἐρήμων καὶ ἡττον ὑπεροφθῆναι ἀξίω, οἷς μὴ βοηθῶντες κακόνς ἀν ἐφάνησαν, καὶ ὅτι προκαλούμενοι τὸν ἀντιδίκους εἰς διαλλαγὰς καὶ φίλοις τὰ πράγματα ἐπιτρέποντες καὶ τὰ δυνατὰ ἐλαττοῦσθαι ὑπομένοντες οὐδενὸς ἡδονῆθησαν τυχεῖν τῶν μετρίων. ταῦτα μὲν δὴ παραγγέλλουσι ποιεῖν οἱ τεχνογράφοι, ἵνα τὸ ἡθος τοῦ λέγοντος ἐπιεικέστερον εἴναι δόξῃ. δύναται δὲ αὐτοῖς εὔνοιαν τοῦτο ποιεῖν καὶ ἔστι κράτιστον τῆς κατασκευῆς μέρος. ταῦθ' ὅρῳ πάντα διὰ τοῦ προοιμίου τοῦδε γεγονότα. καὶ μὴν εἰς γε τὸ εὐμάθεις τὸν ἀκροατὰς ποιῆσαι κελεύσουσι συστρέφαντας εἰπεῖν τὸ πρᾶγμα, ἵνα μὴ ἀγνοῶσι τὴν ὑπόθεσιν οἱ

ON DIONYSIUS. τεχνῶν: *systems, methods*, τέχνη being the regular name for a treatise on rhetoric from the time of Corax and Tisias down. See Introd. § 11, and cf. τεχνογράφοι, below.—παραγγέλλουσιν: *recommend*.—φιλοπράγμονες: generally means *meddlesome*, like πολυπράγμων, xxiv. 24, but here *litigious*, *pettifogging*. Cf. πράγματα, xii. 3, and φιλοπραγμοσύνη, Dem. xxxix. 1.—τὴν αὐτίαν... περιεστάναι: cf. [Dem.] xl. 20, περιειστάναι τὰς αὐτῶν συμφορὰς εἰς ἔμε. Cf. the *intrans.* tense περιέστηκε, xii. 64.—ἀναγκαιοτέρων: on the meaning of the comparative, see H. 649 a.—προσώπων: *persons*, a late usage in this general sense; cf. persona. —κακλούς: for the meaning, see on χειρούς, xvi. 3.—φίλοις... ἐπιτρέποντες: sc. for arbitration, see above, § 2; and on the force of the tense,

see G. 1255; H. 825.—τὰ δυνατὰ ἐλαττοῦσθαι: the verb is used in its idiomatic sense of exacting less than one's due, *waive one's rights*. Cf. [Lys.] II. 64; Thuc. I. 77, καὶ ἐλασσούμενοι γὰρ ἐν ταῖς ἔνδηλαιαις πρὸς τὸν ἔνυμάχον δίκαιος. The acc. τὰ δυνατὰ is cognate; see on § 3. For the two, cf. [Dem.] lvi. 14, ἡγούμενοι δεῖν ἐλαττοῦσθαι τι καὶ συγχωρεῖν ὥστε μὴ δοκεῖν φιλόδικοι είναι. —ὑπομένοντες: *having the patience*, with inf. GMT. 903, 2.—οὐδενὸς... μετρίων: so Dem. xxx. 1, οὐδενὸς ἔδυνθη τυχεῖν τῶν μετρίων.—αὐτοῖς: i.e. for speakers.—ποιεῖν: i.e. παρέχειν. Cf. Plat. *Apol.* 20 D, καγώ ὑμὲν πειράσουμαι ἀποδεῖξαι τί ποτ' ἔστι τοῦτο ὁ ἐμοὶ πεποιηκε τὸ τε διομα καὶ τὴν διαβολήν. —κατασκευῆς: a rhetorical term for the *constructive reasoning* in an argument as opposed to the *destructive*, ἀνασκευή. —συστρέ-

δικασταί, καὶ οἵα περ ἀν γέ τὰ μέλλοντα λέγεσθαι, τοιοῦτο καὶ τὸ προοίμιον ὑποτίθεσθαι ἀπ' ἀρχῆς, καὶ δεῖγμα τοῦ πράγματος ποιουμένους εὐθὺς ἀπ' ἐνθυμημάτων πειράσθαι ἀρχεσθαι. ἔχει δὴ καὶ ταῦτα τὸ προοίμιον. ἔτι περὶ τῆς προσοχῆς ὡδέ πως τεχνολογοῦσιν, δτὶ δεῖ τὸν προσεκτικὸν μέλλοντα ποιεῦν τοὺς ἀκροατὰς καὶ λέγειν θαυμαστὰ καὶ παράδοξα καὶ δεῖσθαι τῶν δικαστῶν ἀκοῦσαι. φαίνεται δὴ καὶ ταῦτα πεποιηκάς ὁ Λυσίας. καὶ πρόσεστι τούτοις τὸ λειτον τῆς ἐρμηνείας καὶ τὸ ἀφελὲς τῆς κατασκευῆς, ὃν μάλιστα δεῖ τοὺς ὑπὲρ ἔκείνων προοιμιάζομένοις.

"Αξιον δὲ καὶ τὴν διήγησιν ὡς φύκονόμηται καταμαθεῖν. ἔχει δὲ οὐτως·

4. Ἀδελφοὶ ήσαν, ὡς ἄνδρες δικασταί, Διόδοτος καὶ Διογείτων ὄμοπάτριοι καὶ ὄμομήτριοι, καὶ τὴν μὲν ἀφανῆ οὐσίαν ἐνείμαντο, τῆς δὲ φανερᾶς ἐκδινώνουν. ἐργασαμένου δὲ Διοδότου κατ' ἐμπορίαν πολλὰ χρήματα πείθει αὐτὸν Διογείτων λαβεῖν τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα, ἥπερ ήν

φυττας: a military term used of solid formations (cf. Xen. *Hellen.* vi. 4. 12, ἐπὶ πεντήκοντα δεκτίδων συνεστραμμένου ήσαν), employed by rhetoricians to signify conciseness and brevity. Cf.

Aeschin. III. 100, συστρέψας γράφει. — **ἐνθυμημάτων**: arguments. — **προσοχῆς**: we aim at three points in a προοίμιον (exordium), says the Auct. ad Herenn. I. 6, ut attentos, ut docilis, ut benevolos auditores habere possimus. Of the historian, Lucian says (*Hist. Conscr.* 53): δπέταν δὲ καὶ φροιμάζηται, ἀπὸ δυοῦ μόνον ἀρξεται, οὐχ ὡσπερ οἱ ἡγέτες ἀπὸ τριῶν, ἀλλὰ τὸ τῆς εὐνοιας παρεῖς προσοχήν καὶ εὐμάθειαν εἴπορθσει τοῖς ἀκούσιοι. — **τεχνολογοῦσιν**: another rhetorical word. — **παράδοξα**: see on XVI. I. — **τὸ λειτον**: the use of the neut. of the adj. for the corresponding abstract, so common in Thucy-

dides. — **ικείνων**: sc. τῶν ἀναγκαιοτέρων προσώπων. — **διήγησιν**: the regular rhetorical term for the narrative part of a speech, 'statement of the case.'

4. **ἀφανῆ οὐσίαν**: Hargroeration says, ἀφανῆς οὐσία καὶ φανερά. ἀφανῆς μὲν ή ἐν χρήμασι καὶ σώμασι καὶ σκευεσι, φανερά δὲ ή ἔγγειος. This is the general distinction like our *personal* and *real* estate, but frequently slaves, cattle, valuable house-furnishings, and money in the bank were classed under φανερά. Cf. XII. 83. See Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 96 f. — **ἐνείμαντο**: the regular word used of the division of an inheritance; cf. XVI. 10. — **ἐργασαμένου**: cf. [Dem.] LVI. 34, πολλὰ χρήματ' εἰργασμένοι παρὰ τὴν σιτηγιλαν τὴν εἰς Ρόδον. — **πείθει αὐτὸν κτλ.**: marriages between kinsfolk

οἱ αὐτῷ μόνη· καὶ γίγνονται αὐτῷ ὑεὶ δύο καὶ θυγάτηρ. 5 χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον καταλεγεὶς Διόδοτος μετὰ Θρασύλλου τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, καλέσας τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα, ἀδελφίδην οὐσαν, καὶ τὸν ἐκείνης μὲν πατέρα, αὐτοῦ δὲ κηδεστὴν καὶ ἀδελφόν, πάππον δὲ τῶν παιδίων καὶ θείον, ἥγούμενος διὰ ταύτας τὰς ἀναγκαιότητας οὐδενὶ μᾶλλον προσήκειν δικαίω περὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ παῖδας γενέσθαι, διαθήκην αὐτῷ δίδωσι καὶ πέντε τάλαντα ἀργυρίου παρακαταθήκην. 8 ναυτικὰ δὲ ἀπέδειξεν ἐκδέδομένα ἐπτὰ τάλαντα καὶ τετταράκοντα μνᾶς, . . . δισχιλίας δὲ ὄφειλομένας ἐν Χερρο-

were not forbidden in Athens, and were sometimes all but directed by law (see on xxiv. 14), the object being to keep property in the family. Even a half-brother (not a full-brother) and sister by the same father might marry. Lysias himself married his sister's daughter (see Introd. § 23). A marriage like that of Diodotus with his brother's daughter, though allowed in Athens, was unheard of in Rome before the Emperor Claudius married Agrippina (Tac. *Ann.* xii. 5) — *νεῖτ*: see App.

5. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον: on the date, see p. 156. — καταλεγεῖς: the regular word, see on xvi. 13. For the part. gen., *cf.* xxx. 8, οὐδὲ τῶν πεντακισχιλίων κατελέγην, and xxiv. 13. — Θρασύλλου: a noted general in the Peloponnesian war, an opponent of the Four Hundred (Thuc. viii. 73), esp. at Samos (*ibid.* 75), where he was general with Thrasybulus (*ibid.* 76) and defeated the Peloponnesians off Cynossema (*ibid.* 104 f.). See also on § 7. Having been one of the generals at Arginusae (Xen. *Hellen.* i. 7. 29),

he was put to death. *Cf.* Paus. vi. 7. — ἀναγκαιότητας: a word found only here in Attic Greek, but used in Polyb. xviii. 51. 10; see App. Thalheim compares Dem. xlvi. 54, τὰ τῆς συγγενείας ἀναγκαῖα.

6. ναυτικά: *sc.* χρήματα, § 7. Money lent on 'bottomry' (*i.e.* the security being the ship and her cargo) is meant. As the risk was apt to be great, the interest charged was often very high, running up to 30 per cent or thereabouts; see Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 166 ff. — ἐκδέδομένα: used as a mercantile word (for a different use, see § 8). *Cf.* Bekker, *Anec.* p. 247, 21: ἔκδοσις· τὸ ἔξωθεν τῆς πόλεως δάνεισμα, τὸ ἐπὶ ναυοῦ καὶ φορτίου διδέμενον. ήν δὲ τὰ τουαῦτα ἐπισφαλῆ μέν, πολύτοκα δέ. — μνᾶς . . .: see App. — δισχιλίας: the word δραχμάς is here, as often, purposely omitted. A sum as large as 2000 *minaē* was expressed in talents. A man like Diodotus could not have possessed it. — Χερρονήσῳ: there were many Athenian settlers in the Thracian Chersonese. *Cf.* And. iii. 13 ff., *τίρος*

40 νήσῳ. ἐπέσκηψε δέ, ἐάν τι πάθη, τάλαντον μὲν ἐπιδοῦναι τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ τὰ ἐν τῷ δωματίῳ δοῦναι, τάλαντον δὲ τῇ θυγατρί. κατέλιπε δὲ καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς τῇ γυναικὶ καὶ 7 τριάκοντα στατῆρας κυζικηνούς. ταῦτα δὲ πράξας καὶ οἴκοι ἀντίγραφα καταλιπὼν ὥχετο στρατευσόμενος μετὰ 8 Θρασύλλου. ἀποθανόντος δὲ ἐκείνου ἐν Ἐφέσῳ Διογείτων τὴν μὲν θυγατέρα ἔκρυπτε τὸν θάνατον τοῦ ἀνδρός, καὶ τὰ γράμματα λαμβάνει ἀ κατέλιπε σεσημασμένα, φάσκων τὰ ναυτικὰ χρήματα δεῖν ἐκ τούτων τῶν γραμμάτων τοιούτων κομίσασθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ χρόνῳ ἐδήλωσε τὸν θάνατον αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐποίησαν τὰ νομιζόμενα, τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἐνιαυτὸν ἐν Πειραιεῖ διηγήσαντο· ἀπαντα γὰρ αὐτοῦ κατελελειπτο τὰ ἐπιτήδεια· ἐκείνων δ' ἐπιλειπόντων τοὺς μὲν παῖδας εἰς ἄστυ ἀναπέμπει, τὴν δὲ μητέρα αὐτῶν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπιδοὺς πεντακισχιλίας δραχμάς, χιλίαις ἐλαττον ὡν

ἐνεκα πολεμήσωμεν; . . . Χερρόνησον καὶ τὰς ἀποικίας καὶ τὰ ἐγκτήματα καὶ τὰ χρέα ἵνα ἀπολάβωμεν; — ἐπέσκηψε: a common word in describing a man's parting or dying wishes. — οὐν τι πάθη: a euphemism, like si quid humani accidisset. — ἐπιδοῦναι: for the meaning, see on xvi. 10. — δωματίῳ: cf. xii. 10. — δοῦναι: see App. — κυζικηνός: see p. 206.

7. ἀντίγραφα: copies of the will (the original given to Diogiton, § 5). On the practice of leaving copies with friends, see Becker, *Charicles* (Engl. trans.), p. 171, M. and S., p. 597. — ἐν Ἐφέσῳ: where Thrasyllus was defeated in the spring of 409 B.C. by Tissaphernes and the Syracusans; Xen. *Hellen.* i. 2. 9. — ἔκρυπτε: with two accs. G. 1069; H. 724. Cf. Xen. *Anab.* i. 9. 19, δοα ἐπέτατό τις, ἥκιστα

Κύρον ἔκρυπτεν. — τὰ γράμματα: the papers. — ἐκ: a somewhat rare use, but cf. Isocr. xvii. 21, τὰ χρήματ' ἐκ τῶν συγγεγραμμένων . . . ἀποδώσει, and Lutz, *Prāp.* p. 51.

8. τὰ νομιζόμενα: as the bones were evidently not brought home in this case, the 'last honours' (see on xii. 18, 21, 96) here means the building of a cenotaph (cf. § 21) at which yearly libations would be made. — ἐν Πειραιεῖ: as Diodotus had been engaged in commerce. — εἰς ἄστυ: Diodotus and Diogiton may have owned together (cf. § 4, τῆς δὲ φανερᾶς ἐκουνών) a house there; cf. § 16, τῆς οἰκλας τῆς αἰτῶν. — ἐκδίδωσιν ἐπέδοντος: Diogiton, becoming again her κύρος, married her to Hegemon, § 12. On the technical terms, see on xvi. 10. — χιλίαις διατον: though it fell short

9 ὁ ἀνὴρ αὐτῆς ἔδωκεν. ὅγδοψ δ' ἔτει δοκιμασθέντος μετὰ ταῦτα τοῦ πρεσβυτέρου τοῦ μειρακίον, καλέσας αὐτοὺς εἶπε Διογείτων ὅτι καταλίποι αὐτοὺς ὁ πατὴρ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἀργυρίου καὶ τριάκοντα στατῆρας. “ἔγώ οὖν πολλὰ τῶν ἔμαυτοῦ δεδαπάνηκα εἰς τὴν ὑμετέραν τροφήν. καὶ ἔως 60 μὲν εἶχον, οὐδέν μοι διέφερεν· νυνὶ δὲ καὶ αὐτὸς ἀπόρως διάκειμαι. σὺ οὖν, ἐπειδὴ δεδοκίμασαι καὶ ἀνὴρ γεγένη-
10 σαι, σκόπει αὐτὸς ἥδη πόθεν ἔξεις τὰ ἐπιτήδεια.” ταῦτ' ἀκούσαντες ἐκπεπληγμένοι καὶ δακρύοντες ὥχοντο πρὸς τὴν μητέρα, καὶ παραλαβόντες ἐκείνην ἥκον πρὸς ἐμέ, εἰοἰκτρῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πάθους διακείμενοι καὶ ἀθλίως ἐκπεπτω-
κότες, κλάοντες καὶ παρακαλοῦντές με μὴ περιιδεῖν αὐτοὺς ἀποστερθέντας τῶν πατρώων μηδ' εἰς πτωχείαν κατα-
στάντας, ὑβρισμένους ὑφ' ὧν ἡκιστα ἔχρην, ἀλλὰ βοηθή-
11 σαι καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς ἔνεκα καὶ σφῶν αὐτῶν. πολλὰ ἀν-
τοεῖη λέγειν, ὅσον πένθος ἐν τῇ ἐμῇ οἰκίᾳ ἦν ἐν ἐκείνῳ τῷ χρόνῳ. τελευτῶσα δὲ ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῶν ἡντεβόλει με καὶ ἵκέτευε συναγαγεῖν αὐτῆς τὸν πατέρα καὶ τοὺς φίλους, εἰποῦσα ὅτι, εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον εἴθισται λέγειν ἐν ἀν-

by one fifth (§ 6), the balance was not a mean dowry; see on xvi. 10. It was the same as that of the mother of Demosthenes, Dem. xxvii. 4.

9. δοκιμασθέντος: see p. 154. — ὅγδοψ δ' ἔτει μετὰ ταῦτα: referring to the removal *εἰς θάντυ*, *in the eighth year after this*, but eight full years after the death of Diodotus; cf. §§ 20, 29. — εἴκοσι... στατῆρας: hence he acknowledged only the sum which Diodotus had given to his wife, § 6. She had turned it over to Diogiton, § 15. — εἶχον: see on xvi. 14.

10. ὑπό: causal, see on vii. 21. —

ἐκπεπτωκότες: as pass. of ἐκβάλλω, cf. § 16, and see on xii. 57. — ἀποστερθέντας: on the use of the partic., see G. 1585; H. 982.

11. πολλὰ ἀν εἴη: cf. Dem. ix. 60, ὡς ὑβρίζετο ... πόλλα' ἀν εἴη λέγειν, [Plat.] Theag. 121 C, τὰ μὲν οὖν ἀλλα πολλὰ ἀν εἴη λέγειν. — τελευτῶσα: as adv., see on xii. 60. — ἡντεβόλει καὶ ἵκέτευε: these words are often used together, like ‘begged and besought.’ Cf. xxii. 21 and i. 25, ἡντεβόλει δὲ καὶ ἵκέτευε μὴ ἀποκτεῖναι. For the augment of ἡντεβόλει, see App. to xii. 73. — λέγειν ἐν ἀνδράσι: on the confined

δράσι, τὸ μέγεθος αὐτὴν ἀναγκάσει τῶν συμφορῶν περὶ 12 τῶν σφετέρων κακῶν δηλῶσαι πάντα πρὸς ἡμᾶς. ἐλθὼν δ' ἐγὼ ἡγανάκτου μὲν πρὸς Ἡγήμονα τὸν ἔχοντα τὴν τούτου θυγατέρα, λόγους δ' ἐποιούμην πρὸς τοὺς ἄλλους ἐπιτηδείους, ἡξίουν δὲ τοῦτον εἰς ἐλεγχον ἵέναι περὶ τῶν πραγμάτων. Διογείτων δὲ τὸ μὲν πρῶτον οὐκ ἥθελε, 80 τελευτῶν δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν φίλων ἀναγκάσθη. ἐπειδὴ δὲ συνήλθομεν, ἥρετο αὐτὸν ἡ γυνή, τίνα ποτὲ ψυχὴν ἔχων ἀξιοῦ περὶ τῶν παιδῶν τοιαύτη γνώμη χρῆσθαι, “ἀδελφὸς μὲν ὁν τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν, πατὴρ δ' ἐμός, θεῖος δὲ αὐτοῖς καὶ 13 πάππος. καὶ εἰ μηδένα ἀνθρώπων ἥσχύνου, τοὺς θεοὺς 85 ἔχρην σε” φησί “δεδιέναι· ὃς ἔλαβες μέν, ὃτ’ ἐκεῖνος ἔξεπλει, πέντε τάλαντα παρ’ αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην. καὶ περὶ τούτων ἐγὼ ἐθέλω τοὺς παῖδας παραστησαμένη καὶ τούτους καὶ τοὺς ὑστερον ἐμαντῆ γενομένους ὁμόσαι ὅπου

life of Athenian women, at least of the higher classes, see Hermann, *Privat-alt.* § 10, and Becker, *Charicles* (Engl. trans.), p. 482 ff. They rarely met any men save their near relatives; cf. III. 6, *εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὴν γυναικωνῖτιν, ἔνδον οὐσῶν τῆς τε ἀδελφῆς τῆς ἐμῆς καὶ τῶν ἀδελφῶν, αἱ οὐτω κοσμίως βεβιώκαις ὥστε καὶ ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκείων ὄρώμεναι αἰσχύνεσθαι.*

12. *εἰς θεγχον λέναι*: see on XVI. 1. —οὐκ ἥθελε: see on XII. 58. —ψυχήν: *heart*, cf. [Lys.] VI. 23, *τίνα αὐτὸν δοκεῖτε ψυχὴν ἔχειν, διότε τὰ μὲν ἔσχατα καὶ τὰ αἰσχιστα ἐποιει μηνῶν κατὰ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ φίλων*; For a different sense, see on XXII. 20.

13. *ἥσχύνον, δεδιέναι*: for these two verbs used as here, the one of men, the other of gods, cf. § 17, and XXIV. 10. —δε: for the meaning,

see on XII. 40. —*Διαβεσ μέν*: in § 14 the construction changes, where we might have had the woman's original words *κεκόμσαι δέ κτλ.* —*τοὺς παῖδας παραστησαμένη*: this, the δρός κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν, was one of the most binding of oaths, from its solemn form and because the punishment for perjury might extend to the children. Cf. XII. 10, Dem. XXIX. 33, *ἡ μῆτηρ πίστιν ἥθελησ' ἐπιθεῖναι κατ' ἐμοῦ καὶ τῆς ἀδελφῆς παραστησαμένη κτλ.* As women could not give evidence in courts, the oath was really their only means of testifying. On its uses, see Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Diætetae*, I, p. 622; M. and S. p. 898 ff. —*τοὺς ὑστερον*: i.e. those by her marriage with Hegemon. —*δπον ἄν*: as for instance in one of the temples. Cf. Dem. XXXVI. 15, Isocr.

ἀν σύτος λέγη. καίτοι σύχ σύτως ἐγώ είμι ἀθλία σύδ' 20 σύτω περὶ πολλοῦ ποιοῦμαι χρήματα, ὥστ' ἐπιορκήσασα κατὰ τῶν παιδῶν τῶν ἐμαυτῆς τὸν βίον ἐκλιπεῖν, ἀδίκως 14 δὲ ἀφελέσθαι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς σύσιαν." ἐπι τούντιν ἔξηλεγχειν αὐτὸν ἐπτὰ τάλαντα κεκομισμένον ναυτικὰ καὶ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμάς, καὶ τούτων τὰ γράμματα ἀπέδειξεν. 25 οὐν γάρ τῇ διοικίσει, ὅτ' ἐκ Κολλυτοῦ διαφέζετο εἰς τὴν Φαιδροῦ οἰκίαν, τοὺς παιδας ἐπιτυχόντας ἐκβεβλημένῳ τῷ 15 βιβλίῳ ἐνεγκεῖν πρὸς αὐτήν. Λάπέφηνε δ' αὐτὸν ἐκατὸν μνᾶς κεκομισμένον ἐγγείω ἐπὶ τόκῳ δεδανεισμένας καὶ ἔτερας δισχιλίας δραχμὰς καὶ ἐπιπλα πολλοῦ ἄξια. φοιτοτάν δὲ καὶ σῆτον αὐτοῖς ἐκ Χερρονήσου καθ' ἐκαστον ἐνιαυτόν. "ἐπειτα σὺ ἐτόλμησας" ἔφη "εἰπεῖν, ἔχων τοσαῦτα χρήματα, ὡς δισχιλίας δραχμὰς ὁ τούτων πατὴρ

xvii. 20, And. I. 42. — κατὰ τῶν παλλῶν: so Dem. xix. 292, and see Dem. xxix. 33 quoted above. In taking oaths, one often laid the hand on the object by which he swore, as in And. I. 126, λαβόμενος τοῦ βαμοῦ ὁμοσεῖν, Isaetus VII. 17, καθ' ἵερῶν.

14. διεικίσθει and διεικίσθετο: only here in this sense, see App. The usual word is ἔξουίζομαι (or ἔξουκέω, cf. xxxi. 9, and the lexicon. But cf. δια- in διέπλευσα, XII. 17, διαπερδά, διαπέρομαι, διαβιβάσαι [Lys.] II. 28, διαβάλω. On the repetition of the same idea in subst. and verb, cf. Aeschin. I. 147, τὰς διατριβὰς . . . ἀσ μετ' ἀλλήλων σύντετε διέτριψον. — Κολλυτοῦ: a deme lying north of the Acropolis, see Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. 21. It was a favourite quarter for residences. Cf. Plut. de Exil. p. 601 C, τὸ δέ σε μὴ κατοικεῖν Σάρδεις οὐδέν

ἐστιν. οὐδὲ γάρ Ἀθηναῖς τάρτες κατοικοῦσι Κολλυτόν. — Φαιδρος: unknown, but possibly he was Diogiton's new father-in-law. The boys, however, seem to have stayed on for a time in the house owned jointly by themselves (as their father's heirs) and Diogiton; cf. §§ 16 and 10. — τῷ: see App. — ἐνεγκεῖν: depends on the idea of saying implied in ἔξηλεγχειν κτλ. G. 1525.

15. ἔγγειρε τὴν τόκῳ: on a real estate mortgage. Cf. [Dem.] xxxiv. 23, 24. For the use of τὴν denoting the security, cf. xix. 25, λαβὼν ἐκαλδεκα μνᾶς ἐπ' αὐτῆς (i.e. φιάλη χρυσῆ), and Lutz, *Präp.* p. 112 f. — στρον κτλ.: possibly as interest on the debt mentioned in § 6. On the corn dealings with the Chersonese, see p. 90. — ἐπειτα: used like εἶτα, XII. 26. — διπερ: for the meaning, cf. δισοπτερ, § 27, and see on VII. 22.

κατέλιπε καὶ τριάκοντα στατήρας, ἅπερ ἐμοὶ καταλει-
 16 φθέντα ἐκείνου τελευτήσαντος ἐγώ σοι ἔδωκα ^{καὶ} ἐκβα-
 105 λεῦν τούτους ἡξίωκας θυγατριδούς ὄντας ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας τῆς
 αὐτῶν ἐν τριβωνύοις, ἀνυποδήτους, οὐ μετὰ ἀκολουθου, οὐ
 μετὰ στρωμάτων, οὐ μετὰ ἴματίων, οὐ μετὰ τῶν ἐπίπλων
 ἀ ὁ πατήρ αὐτοῖς κατέλιπεν, οὐδὲ μετὰ τῶν παρακαταθη-
 17 κῶν ἀς ἐκεῦνος παρὰ σοὶ κατέθετο. καὶ νῦν τοὺς μὲν ἐκ
 110 τῆς μητριᾶς τῆς ἐμῆς παιδεύεις ἐν πολλοῖς χρήμασιν
 εὐδαιμονας ὄντας· καὶ ταῦτα μὲν καλῶς ποιεῖς· τοὺς δὲ
 ἐμοὺς ἀδικεῖς, οὓς ἀτίμους ἐκ τῆς οἰκίας ἐκβαλῶν ἀντὶ¹
 πλουσίων πτωχοὺς ἀποδεῖξαι προθυμεῖ. καὶ ἐπὶ τοιούτοις
 ἔργοις οὔτε τοὺς θεοὺς φοβεῖ, οὔτε ἐμὲ τὴν συνειδούναν
 115 αἰσχύνει, οὔτε τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ μέμνησαι, ἀλλὰ πάντας ἡμᾶς
 18 περὶ ἐλάττονος ποιεῖ χρημάτων.” τότε μὲν οὖν, ὡς ἄνδρες
 δικασταί, πολλῶν καὶ δεινῶν ὑπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς ρήθεντων
 οὕτω διετέθημεν πάντες οἱ παρόντες ὑπὸ τῶν τούτων πεπραγ-
 μένων καὶ τῶν λόγων τῶν ἐκείνης, ὁρῶντες μὲν τοὺς
 120 παῖδας οἵα ἡσαν πεπονθότες, ἀναμιμησκόμενοι δὲ τοῦ
 ἀποθανόντος ὡς ἀνάξιον τῆς οὐσίας τὸν ἐπίτροπον κατέ-

16. οἰκίας τῆς αὐτῶν: see on §§ 8,
 14. — ἐν τριβωνύοις: coarse or worn
 λιδτια (Suidas says λιδάτων ταλαῖδη).
 Cf. Ar. *Vesp.* 117. A guardian treats
 his ward in much the same fashion
 in Isaetus, v. 11. — οὐ μετὰ ἀκολούθου·
 none but the poorest Greeks ever went
 out unattended, and the younger boy
 should have had a ταΐσαγωγός. See
 Becker, *Charicles* (Engl. trans.), pp.
 3 and 226; Hermann, *Privatallt.* p. 85.
 On the asyndeton here, see p. 156,
 note 42. — στρωμάτων: see Becker,
 p. 3; Hermann, p. 160.

17. ἐν πολλοῖς χρήμασιν: cf. Xen.

Anab. iii. 2. 25, ἐν ἀφθεοις βιοτεῖν, ‘live in clover.’ — ἀποδεῖξαι: often
 nearly equiv. to τοιήσαι (cf. xxviii.
 4, ἐπηγγέλλετο . . . ὑμᾶς μὲν διὰ τὰς
 εἰσφορὰς τεκνοτέρους ἀποδεῖξεν, *frag.*
 i. 5, τοὺς δεῖς πτωχοὺς ἐποίησεν, αὐτὸν
 δὲ ἀπὸ καπήλου μυροπώλην ἀπέδει-
 ξεν), but used here, like ἀποφήνει,
 § 22, with the idea of *representing*.
 — ἐπί: a common usage with verbs
 of feeling to denote the ground; cf.
 xiv. 42, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖς καλοῖς αἰσχύνεσθαι,
 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς κακοῖς φιλοτιμεῖσθαι.

18. διετέθημεν: affected. — ὑπό: see
 on vii. 21. — τῆς οὐσίας: does not

λιπεν, ἐνθυμούμενοι δὲ ὡς χαλεπὸν ἔξευρεν ὅτῳ χρὴ περὶ τῶν ἑαυτοῦ πιστεῦσαι, ὥστε, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί, μηδένα τῶν παρόντων δύνασθαι φθέγξασθαι, ἀλλὰ καὶ δακρύον-
125 τας μὴ ἥπτον τῶν πεπονθότων ἀπιόντας οὐχεσθαι σιωπῆ.

Ίνα δὲ καὶ ὁ τῶν ἀποδεῖξεων χαρακτὴρ καταφανὴς γένηται, θήσω καὶ τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις λεγόμενα. τὰς μὲν οὖν ὥδας πίστεις ὡς οὐ πολλῶν ἔτι λόγων δεομένας δι' αὐτῶν βεβαιοῦνται τῶν μαρτύρων, οὐδὲν ἔτερον ἢ τοῦτο εἰπών.

Πρῶτον μὲν οὖν τούτων ἀνάβιητέ μοι μάρτυρες.

Τὰ δὲ τοῦ ἀντιδίκου δίκαια διχῇ νείμας ὡς τὰ μὲν ὁμολογήσαντος αὐτοῦ λαβεῖν καὶ εἰς τὰς τροφὰς τῶν ὄρφανῶν ἀνηλωκέναι σκηνα-
μένουν, τὰ δὲ ἐξάριν γενηθέντος εἰληφέναι κάπειτα ἐλεγχθέντος ὑπὲρ ἀμφοτέρων ποιέται τὸν λόγον, τάς τε δαπάνας οὐχ ἀς ἐκείνος ἀπέφηνε γενέσθαι λέγων καὶ περὶ τῶν ἀμφιβόλων τὰς πίστεις ἀποδιδούς.

19. Ἀξιῶ τούνν, ὡς ἀνδρες δικασταί, τῷ λογισμῷ προσέχειν τὸν νοῦν, ἵνα τὸν μὲν νεανίσκους διὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῶν συμ-
φορῶν ἐλέγησητε, τοῦτον δ' ἀπασι τοῖς πολίταις ἄξιον ὄργῆς
130 ἡγήσησθε. εἰς τοσαύτην γὰρ ὑποψίαν Διογέτων πάντας ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἀλλήλους καθίστησιν, ὥστε μήτε ζῶντας

depend on ἀνάξιον, which is put first for emphasis. — τὸν ἑαυτὸν: refers to the first person in διετέθημεν. G. 995; H. 686 a. In such cases the pronoun expresses mere reflex action in general without denoting any particular person, and sometimes, as here, means one's own. Kühn. § 455, 7. — τῶν παρόντων: in effect a repetition of οἱ παρόντες, allowed because so much intervenes. — δακρύοντας: sc. πάντας from μηδένα, cf. Lycurg. Leocr. 133, οὐδέμια πέδης αὐτὸν εἴσει παρ' αὐτῇ μετοικεῖν. ἀλλὰ (sc. πᾶσα) μᾶλλον τῶν ἀνθροφόβων ηλαυνεῖν.

On Dionysius. Ιδιαὶ πίστεις: his own (the speaker's) proofs, as distinguished from δίκαια (four lines below), the claims of Diogiton; (cf. Dem. xviii. 7, εἰ μὴ τῷ δικαζόντων ἔκαστος ὑμῶν τὰ τοῦ λέγοντος ὑστέρου δίκαια εὐνοῦκῶν προσδέξεται.) — γενηθέντος: post-classical for γενομένου. — τῶν ἀμφιβόλων: 'the disputed items.'

19. ἄξιω: the acc. ὥδας might have followed; see App. — τῷ λογισμῷ: the guardian's accounts, see on λόγος, § 25. — πάντας ἀνθράκους: see on xvi. 15.

μήτε ἀποθνήσκοντας μηδὲν μᾶλλον τοῖς οἰκειοτάτοις ἢ τοῖς
 20 ἔχθιστοις πιστεύειν· ὃς ἐτόλμησε τὰ μὲν ἔξαρνος γενέ-
 σθαι, τὰ δὲ τελευτῶν ὄμολογήσας ἔχειν, εἰς δύο παιδας καὶ
 135 ἀδελφὴν λῆμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα ἐν ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν ἐπτὰ τάλαντα
 ἀργυρίου καὶ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀποδεῖξαι. καὶ εἰς
 τοῦτο ἥλθεν ἀναισχυντίας, ὥστε οὐκ ἔχων ὅποι τρέψει τὰ
 χρήματα, εἰς ὅψον μὲν δυοῖν παιδίοιν καὶ ἀδελφῆς πέντε
 ὀβολοὺς τῆς ἡμέρας ἐλογίζετο, εἰς ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ εἰς
 140 ἴμάτια καὶ εἰς γναφεῖον καὶ εἰς κουρέως κατὰ μῆνα οὐκ
 ἥν αὐτῷ οὐδὲ κατ’ ἐνιαυτὸν γεγραμμένα, συλλήβδην δὲ
 21 παντὸς τοῦ χρόνου πλεῖν ἢ τάλαντον ἀργυρίου. εἰς δὲ τὸ
 μνῆμα τοῦ πατρὸς οὐκ ἀναλώσας πέντε καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς
 ἐκ πεντακισχιλίων δραχμῶν, τὸ μὲν ἥμισυ αὐτῷ τίθησι,
 145 τὸ δὲ τούτοις λελόγυσται. εἰς Διονύσια τοίνυν, ὃ ἄνδρες

20. **ὅς**: for the meaning, see on οἵτινες, XII. 40. — **ἐτόλμησε**: for the meaning, see on XII. 5. — **τὰ δὲ κτλ.**: this was an admission forced upon Diogiton by the *βαρετοὺς*, § 14, cf. § 28. But he proceeded to assert that he had expended the whole amount thus acknowledged. — **λῆμμα καὶ ἀνάλωμα**: technical terms, as in Dem. XXVII. 24, XXVIII. 12. — **ὅποι τρέψει τὰ χρήματα**: 'under what head to set the sums.' Cf. Isaetus VI. 41, *ἡρώτων* ... **ὅποι τετραμμένα εἴη τὰ χρήματα**, 'what had been done with the money,' and **ὅποι**, below, § 25. For the mood of *τρέψει*, representing an interrogative or deliberative subj., see G. 1490. — **ὅψον**: this term means a relish eaten with bread, or sometimes, as here, everything edible except bread. See Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 223. — **πέντε ὀβολούς**: comparisons show

that this was a large sum for the purpose. See Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 128. — **γναφεῖον**: see on XXIII. 2. — **εἰς κουρέως**: probably a colloquialism (cf. XII. 12), with which Frohberger compares Ar. *Eq.* 467, *σὺ δὲν ἔξ αμαζουργοῦ λέγεις*; The barber was the manicure and pedicure of antiquity. He also sold perfumes, oil for anointing, etc. See also p. 107. — **πλεῖν**: on the form, see App.

21. **μνῆμα**: in this case a cenotaph. On the forms and cost of monuments, see Becker, *Charicles* (Engl. trans.), p. 393 ff. Hermann, *Privatalt.* p. 383. — **αὐτῷ**: as if he had undertaken to share the cost. — **τίθησι**: cf. θήσω, § 28, and ponere. — **Διονύσια**: the art. is regularly omitted in Lysias with names of festivals (Frohberger). — **τοίνυν**: here a particle of transition, not, as usually,

δικασταί, (οὐκ ἄτοπον γάρ μοι δοκεῖ καὶ περὶ τούτου μνησθῆναι) ἐκκαΐδεκα δραχμῶν ἀπέφηνεν ἐωνημένου ἀρνίον, καὶ τούτων τὰς ὄκτα δραχμὰς ἐλογίζετο τοῖς παισίν· ἐφ' ὃ ἡμεῖς οὐχ ἡκιστα ὠργύσθημεν. οὗτως, ὡς 180 ἄνδρες, ἐν ταῖς μεγάλαις ζημίαις ἐνίστε οὐχ ἡγτον τὰ μικρὰ λυπεῖ τοὺς ἀδικουμένους· λίαν γάρ φανερὰν τὴν 22 πονηρίαν τῶν ἀδικούντων ἐπιδείκνυσιν. εἰς τούτουν τὰς ἀλλας ἑορτὰς καὶ θυσίας ἐλογίσατο αὐτοῖς πλεῖν ἡ τετρακισχιλίας δραχμὰς ἀνηλωμένας, ἔτερά τε παμπληθῆ, ἀ 185 πρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον συνελογίζετο, ὥσπερ διὰ τοῦτο ἐπίτροπος τῶν παιδίων καταλειφθείσ, ἵνα γράμματ' αὐτοῖς ἀντὶ τῶν χρημάτων ἀποδείξειεν καὶ πενεστάτους ἀντὶ πλουσίων ἀποφήνειε, καὶ ἵνα, εἰ μέν τις αὐτοῖς πατρικὸς ἔχθρὸς ἦν, ἐκείνου μὲν ἐπιλάθωνται, τῷ δ' ἐπιτρόπῳ, τῶν πατρώων 23 ἀπεστερημένοι, πολεμῶσι. καίτοι εἰ ἐβούλετο δίκαιος ἔναι περὶ τοὺς παῖδας, ἔξην αὐτῷ, κατὰ τοὺς νόμους οἱ κείνται περὶ τῶν ὀρφανῶν καὶ τοῖς ἀδυνάτοις τῶν ἐπιτρό-

of inference. — ἐκκαΐδεκα: about a third too much; see Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 96. — ἀρνίον: the usual sacrifice at this festival. — τὰς ὄκτα: on the article, *cf.* xxii. 8, and see G. 948; H. 664 a. — ἐφ' ὃ: for the syntax, see on xxxi. 11. — οὗτως: belongs to the whole sentence, not to any one word. See on τοσοῦτον, xii. 84, and *cf.* adeo. — ζημίαις: losses; *cf.* §§ 25, 29, and see on vii. 12.

22. τέ: see on xxxi. 2. — παμπληθῆ: 'to a vast amount.' — πρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον: 'to complete the tale,' where *κεφάλαιον* means the total amount of 7½ talents acknowledged by Diogiton, § 20. So Froh-

berger, who compares Cic. *Verr.* II. 5. 73, ad eorum numerum (sc. explendum) cives Romani necati. See App.—συνελογίζετο: summed up. — ὥσπερ καταλειφθείσ: see App. to xii. 7. — ἀποδείξειν and ἀποφήνειν: see on § 17. — πατρικὸς ἔχθρός: hereditary foes as well as friends were recognized by Greek morals. See on xii. 2. — ἐπιλάθωνται and πολεμῶσι: on the difference in tense, see App. to xvi. 6, and on the change of mood from the opt. above, GMT. 321.

23. ἔξην: without ἀν, see on xii. 32. — κείνται: as pass. of τίθημ, see on § 10, and *cf.* xxii. 3. — ἀδυνάτοις: on the meaning, see oration xxiv.

πων καὶ τοῖς δυναμένοις, μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον ἀπηλλαγμένον πολλῶν πραγμάτων, ἢ γῆν πριάμενον ἐκ τῶν προστατών τοὺς παῖδας τρέφειν· καὶ ὅπότερα τούτων ἐποίησεν, οὐδενὸς ἀν ἥττον Ἀθηναίων πλούσιοι ἡσαν. οὐν δέ μοι δοκεῖ οὐδεπώποτε διανοηθῆναι ὡς φανερὰν καταστήσων τὴν οὐσίαν, ἀλλ' ὡς αὐτὸς ἔξω τὰ τούτων, ἥγονύμενος δεῖν τὴν αὐτὸν πονηρίαν κληρονόμον εἶναι τῶν τοῦ τεθνεῶτος χρημάτων. ὁ δὲ πάντων δεινότατον, ὡς δικασταί· οὗτος γὰρ συντριτηραρχῶν Ἀλέξιδι τῷ Ἀριστοδίκου, φάσκων δυοῦν δεούσας πεντήκοντα μνᾶς ἐκείνῳ συμβαλέσθαι, τὸ ἥμισυ τούτοις ὀρφανοῖς οὐστι λελόγισται, οὓς ἡ πόλις οὐ μόνον παῖδας ὄντας ἀτελεῖς ἐποίησεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐπειδὰν δοκιμασθῶσιν ἐνιαυτὸν ἀφῆκεν ἀπασῶν τῶν

— τοῖς δυναμένοις: on this subst. use, cf. xxiv. 12, and see G. 1560; H. 966.
 — μισθῶσαι τὸν οἶκον: a guardian who was unable, for any reason, or merely disinclined to manage his ward's estate (*oikos*, see on xii. 93) himself, might let it, by an auction held before the archon, to the highest bidder. The lessee (*ὁ μισθόμενος*) had to give security (*ἀποτίμημα*) for the rent. If this security was land, on it was set a *δρός* with an inscription, as *δρός χωρίου καὶ οἰκλας ἀποτίμημα ταιδὶ δρφανῷ Διογείτονος*, *CIA*. II, 1135. The rent was often more than twelve per cent. See M. and S. pp. 362, 559; Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* s.v. *Misthoseos Phasis*; and Sandys on *Arist. Resp.* *Ath.* 56. 7.— ὡς καταστήσων: for the syntax, see on xii. 73.— φανεράν: i.e. by turning it into land or mortgages. See on § 4. But here the whole phrase suggests that Diogiton did just the opposite, for the counter-

word *ἀφανίσειν* has the double sense of *turn into cash* and *make away with*.— πονηρίαν: personified; cf. xii. 78.

24. ὁ δὲ κτλ.: an introductory rel. clause. See H. 1009 a, and cf. xxiv. 11.— ὡς δικασταί: a rare omission of *ἄνδρες*. See App.— συντριτηραρχῶν: the custom by which two men shared a trierarchy (see on xii. 38) arose in the hard times in the latter part of the Peloponnesian war. Boeckh (*Staatsk.* I, p. 638) calls the present the earliest known instance, but as we cannot be sure of the exact year of it, Gilbert (*Antiq.* p. 370) quotes Isocr. xviii. 59 f. (405–404 B.C.) as the earliest certainly known.— δυοῖν δεούσας: on the phrase, see G. 382, 3; H. 292.— ἀτελεῖς: this immunity did not include the *εἰσφορά* (see on xii. 20). Boeckh, *Staatsk.* I, p. 534.— ἐποίησεν: not a gnomic aor., but referring to the time of

ληγουργιῶν. οὗτος δὲ πάππος ὁν παρὰ τοὺς νόμους τῆς
 ἑαυτοῦ τριηραρχίας παρὰ τῶν θυγατριδῶν τὸ ἡμισυ πράτ-
 25 τετταὶ. καὶ ἀποπέμψας εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν ὀλκάδα δυοῦν
 ταλάντοιν, ὅτε μὲν ἀπέστελλεν, ἐλεγε πρὸς τὴν μητέρα
 180 αὐτῶν ὅτι τῶν παιδῶν ὁ κύνδυνος εἴη, ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἐσώθη
 καὶ ἔδιπλασίασεν, αὐτοῦ τὴν ἐμπορίαν φάσκει εἶναι.
 καίτοι εἰ μὲν τὰς ζημίας τούτων ἀποδείξει, τὰ δὲ σωθέντα
 τῶν χρημάτων αὐτὸς ἔξει, ὅποι μὲν ἀνήλικοι τὰ χρήματα
 οὐ χαλεπῶς εἰς τὸν λόγον ἐγγράψει, ῥᾳδίως δὲ ἐκ τῶν ἀλλο-
 26 τρίων αὐτὸς πλουτήσει. καθ' ἔκαστον μὲν οὖν, ὡς δικα-
 σταί, πολὺ ἀν ἔργον εἴη πρὸς ὑμᾶς λογίζεσθαι. ἐπειδὴ δὲ
 μόλις παρ' αὐτοῦ παρέλαβον τὰ γράμματα, μάρτυρας
 ἔχων ἡρώτων Ἀριστόδικον τὸν ἀδελφὸν τὸν Ἀλέξιδος
 (αὐτὸς γάρ ἐτύγχανε τετελευτηκώς) εἰ ὁ λόγος αὐτῷ εἴη ὁ
 190 τῆς τριηραρχίας· ὁ δὲ ἔφασκεν εἶναι, καὶ ἐλθόντες οἴκαδε
 ηὑρομεν Διογείτονα τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς ἐκείνῳ συμ-
 27 βεβλημένον εἰς τὴν τριηραρχίαν. οὗτος δὲ ἐπέδειξε δυοῦν
 δεούσας πεντήκοντα μνᾶς ἀνηλικάνειν, ὥστε τούτοις λελο-
 γίσθαι ὅσουν περ ὀλον τὸ ἀνάλωμα αὐτῷ γεγένηται. καίτοι
 195 τί αὐτὸν οἰεσθε πεποιηκέναι περὶ ὃν οὐδεὶς αὐτῷ σύνοιδεν,

the enactment.—τράττεται: enacted.
Cf. ἀργύριον τράξαθαι, I. 25.

25. Ἀδρίαν: sc. ἀδλτον, omitted as usual. — ὀλκάδα: a general term for the merchant-ship as opposed to ταῦς μαρά. Torr, *Ancient Ships*, p. 23, with note 59. — κίνδυνος: risk. This would be an extra one in that sea; *cf. frag.* I. 4, ὥστε πολὺ ἀσφαλέστερον εἶναι δοκεῖν εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν πλεῖν ἡ τούτῳ συμβάλλειν (lend money), and Hor. III. 9. 23, improbo iracundior Hadria. — ἐσώθη: frequently used of a safe return,

as in XVI. 16. — διποι: see on § 20.

— λόγος: the regular term for the guardian's account; see p. 153. It is called λογισμός in § 19, γράμματα in § 26.

26. τετελευτηκάς: see on VII. 10, and for the tense, on XII. 27. — τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι: the trierarchy cost almost fifty minae on the average. Boeckh, *Staatsh.* I, p. 671.

27. ἀνηλικάνειν: the infin. with ἀποδείκνυμι is very rare. See App. — λελογίσθαι: on the tense, see GMT. 590. — ὅσουν περ: see on § 15. — περ ὃ... ἀλλ' αὐτὸς επλ.: English re-

ἀλλ' αὐτὸς μόνος διεχείριζεν, ὃς ἀ δι' ἐτέρων ἐπράχθη καὶ οὐ χαλεπὸν ἦν περὶ τούτων πυθέσθαι, ἐτόλμησε ψευσάμενος τέτταροι καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶς τοὺς αὐτοῦ θυγατρίδοῦς ζημιώσαι; καί μοι ἀνάβητε τούτων μάρτυρες.

ΜΑΡΤΥΡΕΣ.

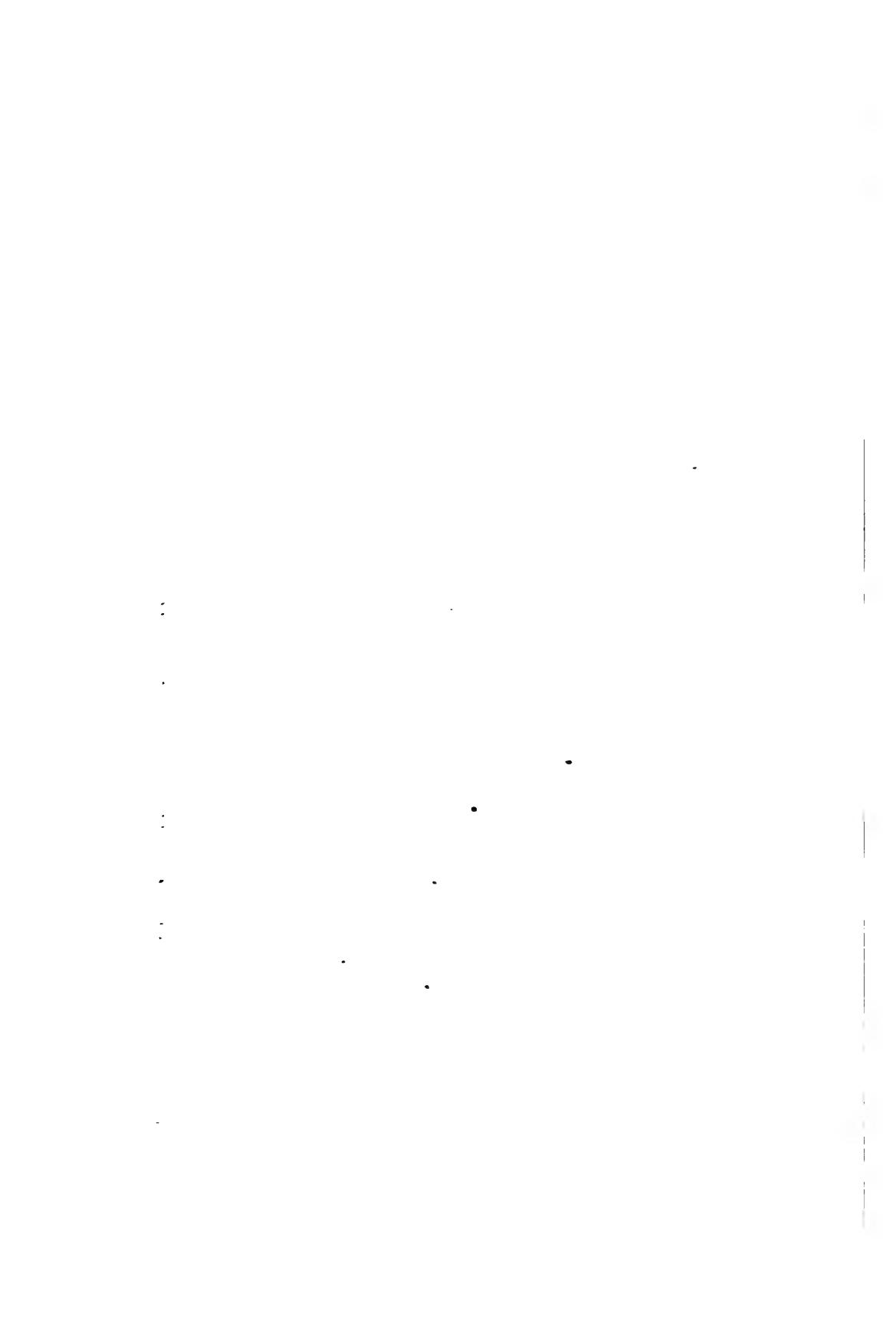
28. Τῶν μὲν μαρτύρων ἀκηκόατε, ὡς δικασταί· ἐγὼ δ' ὅσα τελευτῶν ὀμολόγησεν ἔχειν αὐτὸς χρήματα, ἐπτὰ τάλαντα καὶ τετταράκοντα μνᾶς, ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ λογιοῦμαι, πρόσοδον μὲν οὐδεμίαν ἀποφαίνων, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ἀναλίσκων, καὶ θήσω ὅσον οὐδεὶς πώποτ' ἐν τῇ πόλει, εἰς 205 δύο παιδαῖς καὶ ἀδελφὴν καὶ παιδαγωγὸν καὶ θεράπαιναν χιλίας δραχμὰς ἐκάστου ἐνιαυτοῦ, μικρῷ ἔλαττον ἢ τρεῖς 29 δραχμὰς τῆς ημέρας. ἐν ὀκτὼ ἔτεσιν αὗται γίγνονται ὀκτακισχίλιαι δραχμαί, καὶ ἀποδείκνυνται ἐξ τάλαντων περιόντα καὶ εἴκοσι μνᾶ. οὐ γὰρ ἀν δύναιτο ἀποδεῖξαι 210 οὐθ' ὑπὸ ληστῶν ἀπολωλεκώς οὔτε ζημίαν εἰληφώς οὔτε χρήσταις ἀποδεδωκώς. . . .

quires which (δ) in the second clause, but Greek avoids the repetition of the relative in a new case by omitting it or by using a pers. or dem. pron. Cf. περὶ τούτων, below, and vii. 40, xxii. 13, 21, and see G. 1040, 1041; H. 1005.—αὐτὸς μόνος: for the contrast, see on xxxi. 17.—ζημιώσαι: mulct, see on ζημίας, § 21.

28. ὀμολόγησεν: for the fact, cf. § 20. — ὑπαρχόντων: principal, see on xxxi. 15. — θήσω: see on § 21. — παιδαγωγόν: see on § 16. — χιλίας δραχμάς: a liberal allowance for the time of Lysias. Even later, seven minae a year was the allowance of Demosthenes in his minority, his

sister and his mother. Boeckh calculated that a family of four grown persons could obtain the mere necessities of life for 360 drachmae a year. *Staatsk.* I, 142 ff.

. 29. καὶ ἀποδείκνυνται: see App.—ἀπολωλεκώς: used absolutely; cf. ἀποδεδωκώς, below.—ζημίαν εἰληφός: probably a commercial phrase, in which λαμβάνω takes the place of the somewhat legal word διλισκάνω. Cf. κέρδος λαβεῖν, Ar. *Ach.* 906, *Nub.* 1084, κακὸν λαβεῖν, *Nub.* 1310, Xen. *Symp.* iv. 50, and ζημίαν λαβῶν δμεινόν ἔστιν ἢ κέρδος κακόν, Soph. *frag.* 738 Nauck.² For ζημίαν, see on § 21.—Dionysius quotes no more of this speech.



APPENDIX.

I. — MANUSCRIPTS AND EDITIONS.

A. — MANUSCRIPTS.

THE CODEX PALATINUS X (Heidelbergensis 88) is the sole early authority for the text of all but one¹ of the orations of Lysias printed in the present edition. All the other manuscripts of these orations were copied from X, as Hermann Sauppe showed in his *Epistola Critica ad Godofredum Hermannum scripta*, Lipsiae, 1841, p. 7 ff. This manuscript, written in the twelfth century, was brought from Nicaea to the west; from Italy it passed to Heidelberg; in 1622 it was carried off to Rome by Leo Allatius and in 1797 by Napoleon to Paris; finally in 1815 it was returned to Heidelberg. It is on parchment, consists of 142 leaves, and was written throughout by one hand, but contains a few corrections by a second; most of the corrections were made by the first writer himself. In many cases he found a choice of readings even in his archetype, either variants or emendations, which he wrote in, without deciding which were the better.² The manuscript on the whole has a low reputation for correctness. Aside from this, it had suffered greatly before it reached Italy for the first time, having lost one whole quaternion and three leaves of another. The former contained the end of oration xxv, a whole speech *κατὰ Νικίδον ἀργίας* (as the index on folio 1 of the Ms. shows), and the beginning of xxvi; the latter included the end of v and the beginning and part of the middle of vi. Further, folio 9 (in oration ii) is stained by some black liquid so that most of both sides of the leaf is, and was before the Ms. came to Italy, illegible. Sauppe was the first to prove that all the other Mss. were copied from this after its mutilation and defacement, as they exhibit the same lacunae and make sad

¹ Oration xxxii; see Appendix to it. see M. Erdmann, *de Pseudolysiae Epitaphii codd.*, Strassburg, 1881.
Further, orations i and ii (not here printed), though they are found in X, also come from a different family;

² On the history of the Ms., Sauppe, *ibid.*, Schöll, *Heracles*, XI, p. 202 ff.

work of the passage written on the soiled leaf. The first printed edition, that of Aldus, shows the same deficiencies. It is evident, therefore, that the readings of the copies are of no more critical importance than the conjectures of the learned of to-day. It was natural that many of these readings should be happy, correcting as they did manifest errors in X. This is especially true of those of

CODEX LAURENTIANUS C (pl. 57, 4), which Bekker (who preceded Sauppe) held to be the best Ms. of Lysias. The other principal copies will be found cited in Bekker's edition. I mention here only the two to which I have had occasion to refer in the following notes:—

CODEX VATICANUS M (66).

CODEX URBINAS O (117).

The latter gets its name from the *Bibliotheca Urbinas*, added to the library of the Vatican in 1657.

B.—PRINCIPAL EDITIONS.

EDITIO PRINCEPS: *ALDUS, Venice*, 1513. In his *Oratores Graeci* (generally so called, though Aldus speaks of them as *Rhetores*), I, pp. 86–197 (including the Life and Estimate by Dionysius of Halicarnassus). Aldus used either X or a copy; see Sauppe, *Epist. Crit.* p. 9; Schöll, *Hermes*, XI, p. 204 note.

Stephanus, Geneva, 1575. In his *Oratorum Veterum Orationes*. The citations of Lysias in Liddell and Scott's Lexicon are made by its pages. Professor Seymour kindly lent me his copy of this book, but I have used my own copy (formerly W. H. Thompson's) of the Aldine.

Taylor, London, 1739. *Lysiae Orationes et Fragmenta*. With his own notes and those of Markland.

Reiske, Leipzig, 1772. In Vols. V and VI of his *Oratores Graeci*.

Bekker, Berlin (also *Oxford*), 1823. In Vol. I of his *Oratores Attici*.

Dobson, London, 1828. In Vol. II of his *Oratores Attici* with variorum notes including those of Dobree.

Baiter and Sauppe, Zurich, 1839–1843. In their *Oratores Attici*.

Scheibe, Leipzig, 1852, and (in 1855) *Lysiae Orationes ad codicem Palatinum nunc denuo collatum*. Often reprinted.

Westermann, Leipzig, 1854. *Lysiae Oratione*

Cobet, Amsterdam, 1863. *Lysiae Orationes*.

SELECTED ORATIONS WITH COMMENTARY.

Rauchenstein, Berlin, 1848. Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias. Revised seven times by him and now (for Orations XII, XIII, XVI, XXV, XXXI) in its tenth, 1889, and (for VII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXX, XXXII) ninth, 1886, edition as revised by *Führ*. With critical and explanatory notes.

Van Herwerden, Groningen, 1863. Lysiae Orationes Selectae (I, XII, XIII, XVI, XXV, XXXII). With critical notes.

Frohberger, Leipzig, 1865–1870. Ausgewählte Reden von Lysias. Vol. I, Or. XII, XIII, XXV, 1865; revised by *Gebauer*, 1880. Vol. II, Or. I, X, XIV, XV, XXXII, 1868. Vol. III, Or. XVI, XIX, XXIV, XXX, XXXI (with a grammatical and a subject index), 1870. Explanatory and (extremely long) critical notes.

The same, Leipzig, 1873–1875. Kleine Ausgabe. Vol. I, Or. XII, XIII, XVI, XXV, XXXI, 1873; revised by *Gebauer*, 1882. Vol. II, Or. VII, X, XIV, XV, XIX, XXII, XXIV, XXX, XXXII, 1875; revised by *Thalheim*, 1892.

Stevens, Chicago, 1876. Select Orations of Lysias with introductions and explanatory notes (Or. II, VII, XII, XIII, XXII). Several times reprinted.

Shuckburgh, London, 1882. Lysiae Orationes XVI with analysis, notes, appendices and indices (Or. V, VII, IX, X, XII, XIII, XIV, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIV, XXVIII, XXX, XXXII). Now in its fourth edition, 1890.

Kocks, Gotha, 1885–1887. Ausgewählte Reden des Lysias. Vol. I, Or. VII, XII, XIII, XVI, XIX, 1885. Vol. II, Or. XXI, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXVIII, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, XXXIII, 1887. With short explanatory notes.

Weidner, Leipzig, 1888. Lysiae Orationes Selectae, mit Einleitungen, erklärendem Index und einem Anhang aus Xenophons Griechischer Geschichte. Contains Or. I, VII, X, XII, XIII, XVI, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXV, XXX, XXXI, XXXII, with a brief collation of X.

Bristol, Boston, 1892. Ten Selected Orations of Lysias (VII, XII, XVI, XVII, XIX, XXII, XXIII, XXIV, XXXII, XXXIII). With explanatory notes and appendices.

II.—CRITICAL NOTES.

For the Ms. readings I have depended on Kayser's collation of X in Scheibe's second edition (using a reprint of 1871); on the additions and corrections of Lampros (in *Hermes*, X, p. 257 ff.) and of Schöll (*ibid.*, XI, p. 202 ff.); and on Weidner's critical appendix. I have printed the text of X everywhere unless the contrary is indicated in the following notes, except that I have felt with Schöll (*l.c.*) that there was no need (especially in an

edition of this grade) of cataloguing mere orthographical variants of a sort that contribute nothing whatever to our knowledge of the text of Lysias, being errors with which all MSS. of the time abound. I do not mean cases in which the spelling of words is or has been in dispute, but blunders like *οὐχ' ὡς*, *ὑφῶν*, *μεταταῦτα*, *ἐπειδ' ἄν*, obvious mistakes in breathings, the omission of a subscript and points like *μῆδεμία*. Those who need to study such matters will find the material in the articles of Lampros and Schöll. Further, my text agrees with that of Fuhr (in his tenth edition of *xii*, *xvi*, *xxxii*, and his ninth of *vii*, *xxii*, *xxiii*, *xxiv*, *xxxii*), unless the contrary is stated. It will be seen that I have drawn freely from his critical appendix, as well as from that of Frohberger-Gebauer-Thalheim. The following abbreviations are used in the notes (besides the letters X, C, cod. M, O, referring to the MSS.):—

B., Bekker; Cob., Cobet; F., Fuhr; Fr., Frohberger; Herw., Van Herwden; M., Markland (the Vatican MS. is rarely cited and always as cod. M.); R., Reiske; Rn., Rauchenstein; S., Sauppe; Sch., Scheibe; T., Taylor; Turr., Turicenses Editores; W., Weidner. Some of these abbreviations are avoided in the App. to *xxxii* to prevent confusion with the signs for the special MSS. of that speech. By 'Meisterhans' is meant his *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften*, and by 'Bl.-Kühn. Gr.', the *Ausführliche Grammatik* of Kühner, revised by Blass, 1890 ff.

VII.

Title. περὶ: Harp., Phot. ὑπὲρ, X.

1. ἀπροσδοκήτοις: T. ἀπροσδοκήτως, X. — κοινοῖ: Stephanus. *οἱ κοινοὶ*, X.
2. ἄλαν: Cobet, cf. Meisterhans, p. 24. ἄλαν, X. So throughout the speech. — προσῆσαν: Rn. προσήσαν, X. — φασιν: M., omitted in X. — ἡγούμενοι, X. Either might stand (cf. Schöll, *Hermes*, XI, p. 210), but F. quotes XII. 25, 36, 54, 85, 96, 100, to show that ἡγούμενοι is the commoner; οἱδεῖσαι occurs in XIII. 86. — ἀπορωτάτην: X, vulg. ἀπορωτέραν, Tournier, Graux, F. — ψευδῇ ἀποδεῖξαι: Dobree, Francken. ἀποδεῖξαι, X. ἀπελέγξαι, Westermann, Sch., F., Fr., but this word is not found, except in Antiphon, until late. ἀπολύτασθαι, Dobree, W. — αὗτοῖς: S. αὗτοῖς, X.
3. ἀμ'... ἀκούσαντα: S. ἀλλ'... ἀκούσαντας, X. This, according to Lutz (*die Casus-adverbien bei den attischen Rednern*, p. 33), is the only place where Lysias uses ἀμα joined with a person. With things, ἀμα τούτῳ κρανγῇ γλύκεται, XIII. 71; ἀμα τῇ ἡμέρᾳ, frag. I. 4.

4. δημευθέντων δ' ἑκείνου τῶν δυτῶν: Meutzner, Thalheim. δημευθέντων τῶν δυτῶν δ' ἑκείνου, X, Sch. δημευθέντων δὲ τῶν ἑκείνου, Rn., F. — δωρεάν: Morgan, cf. Meisterhans, p. 31 f., Bl.-Kühn. Gr. I, p. 139. δωρεάν, X, edd. — ὀνοθμαῖ: Emperius. ἀνοθμην, X. ἀνοθμην, Sch., Fr., but the impf. has not an aoristic sense here nor in the passages usually cited to support it, xxii. II, Aesch. III. 91, Andoc. I. 134. — Ἀπολλόδωρος: there was a long discussion and investigation in the matter of the rewards to be given to the murderers. We have a contemporary document bearing upon it in an inscription, CIA. I, 59, discussed in Hicks, *Greek Historical Inscriptions*, p. 105 ff.

5. μυρίαι: O. μυρίαι, X.

6. δὲ πόλεμος, Dobree. πόλεμος, X. — τότε τῷ: R. τῷ, X. — καὶ δὴ τοῦτο: Röhl, F. καὶ τοῦτο, X. After ἀλλως τε καὶ we generally have a participle or a causal, rarely a conditional or temporal conj. It stands with a finite verb only in late authors (Fuhr). — πλεῖν: Franke, F., Geb., W. πλεῖον, X. On the form πλεῖν, see Bl.-Kühn, Gr. I, p. 216, where it is explained not as a contraction but as a shortened form ('hyphaeresis') of πλεῖον, cf. οἴμαι and οἴομαι. In Attic classical inscriptions πλεῖν is not found, but only πλέον, not πλεῖον, Meisterhans, p. 120, but the language of some of them contradicts Moeris, p. 294, πλεῖν ἡ μέριοι, Ἀττικῶς, cf. Schwab, *Hist. Syntax der Griechischen Comparativen*, pp. 197, 202, 211.

7. θαυμαστὸν δ': C. δ' om. X. — ἡδυνάμεθα: see App. to XII. 99. — δσφ: Meutzner. δσαι, X.

10. ὃς δέος: Harp., Suid., Phot. s.v. σηκός. δόν δ', X. — τρίτῳ δὲ ἔται: vulg. τρίτῳ δὲ, X. — εἰργάσατο: S. εἰργόσατο ἐνιαυτόν, X. — ὃς τέθνηκε· κάτα τρία ἔτη: S. after Meutzner. ὃς τέθνηκε ταῦτα τρία ἔτη, X. But the point of interest to the speaker is the length of the leases, not the date of the death of Alcias. — Πρωτίας: X has Πρωτέως.

11. σηκόν: vulg. οίκον, X. — φανερότερον: schedae Brulart. (notes on the margin of Stephanus's edition in the *Bibl. Nationale*), M., T. φανερώς, X.

12. αἰρόμενος: S. ἡγούμενος, X. — σκοπεῖν: X, vulg. σκοπεῖν δν, Fr., F., W. But the pres. inf. alone here represents the impf. of the judges' thought and the following impf. ἐπεχειροῦν is unchanged in tense from their direct thought, although it is changed in person, from the third to the first. The condition is a simple one, not contrary to fact: 'if he made this attempt, he was considering,' etc. — ἐγίγνετο μοι: Rn. ἐγίγνετο τῷ, X. On the tense, F. and Fr. compare ἑκέρδαινον, § 32, but they miss the point that ἐγίγνετο is an indir. question. — περιποιήσαντι: Kayser. τῷ (del. Dobree) ποιήσαντι, X.

13. καὶ ὑμᾶς: καὶ ὑμᾶς, X. — ἐγίγνετο: ἐγίγνετο, X.

14. ἐνότος: Cob. δντος, X. — παρ' ὑμῶν: X, Sch. παρ' ὑμῶν, Meutzner, F., Fr., W. I have returned to the reading of X, influenced by the passages quoted in the note and by Dem. xix. 137, l. 39, quoted by Lutz, *Präpositionen*, p. 147. So Thalheim. — τῷ δὲ: inserted by Frei as a contrast to οὐτος μέντοι.

— *τοιοῦτον*: Hertlein. *τούτων*, X. — *γιγνομένας*: Gildersleeve in a private letter. *γενομένας*, X, edd. If *γενομένας* stands, it can only be indir. disc. after *ἀποφήναμι*; and as it must refer to past time, it makes nonsense. Fr. takes *άν* with both *γενομένας* (representing an aor. indic.) and *ἀποφήναμι*, a potential opt.; but this is impossible, and nothing like it can be found, for in Dem. *xxxxv. 71*, quoted by Fr., *μαθών* is equiv. to a protasis. Hamaker conjectured *ἀποφήναμι' άν*. But Gildersleeve's is the neater emendation, and involves the slightest possible change, from *γενομένας* to *γιγνομένας*. On the sense of the impf. partic. here, see the note on *ἔγιγνετο* in § 13, the suggestion for which comes from the same scholar.

16. *άν ή*: Morgan, cf. §§ 18, 20, 28, and see Rutherford, *New Phrynicus*, p. 243. *άν ήν*, X, edd. — *οὐκάν οἶδόν τε ήν διέτην με*: X, Sch., Fr. *οὐκάν οἶδός τε ήν διέτην*, Cob., F., W. — *ήδη*: W. *ήδειν*, Emperius, Fr., F. *εἰδεῖν*, X, Sch.

17. *οἰκετῶν*: Palmer. *εἰκετῶν*, X. — *σῶν*: Cob. *σῶν*, X. — *ἀνενεγκεῖν*: C. *άνενεγκεῖν*, X.

18. *ή*: Cob. *ήν*, X, cett. — *τούς παριόντας ή*: X, Rn., Fr. Omitted after Dobree by Sch., F., on the ground that the danger the speaker ran from the passers-by had been mentioned in § 15; for he treats of 1) *παριόντες* (§ 15); 2) *οἰκέται* (§ 16); 3) his tenants (§ 17); 4) his neighbours (§ 18). But, as Thalheim remarks, *die παριόντες werden hier in anderem Zusammenhang erwähnt als § 15*. The *τούς περιουσιώντας γειτόνας* of Hamaker, W., is attractive, but not necessary. — *ἀποκρυπτόμεθα*: X. *ἀποκρυπτόμενοι οἴνοια*, Sch.

19. *δις φησιν ως*: X, edd. except W., who omits *δις φησιν*, probably rightly. No exact parallels for *φησιν ως* are quoted, except Xen. *Hellen. vi. 3. 7*, Theop. *Char. 29*. — *παριστήκη*: Cob. *παριστήκει*, X, cett.

20. *διθέτες*: Franz. *διθέτετες*, X. — *ή*: Morgan. *ήν*, X, cett.

21. *σοι*: Aldus. *μοι*, X.

22. *άς φῆς μ' ιδεῖν*: after *φῆς* of Blass; but for the *ι* subscript (so Thalheim), see Bl.-Kühn. *Gr. § 289, Anm. 3.* *φῆσ· μή δεῖν*, X. *εἰδός μ' ιδεῖν*, F. *διε φῆς μ' ιδεῖν*, M., Thalheim. *φῆσας μ' ιδεῖν*, R., Sch. *ει φῆς μέν μ' ιδεῖν . . . τούς διάρχοντας*, W. — *οὐτοις*: Muretus. *οὐτω*, X, Sch., Fr.

23. *ὅτ' ει μὲν*: Rn., Thalheim. *ὅτε ει μὲν*, X, but the rel. in such a usage should refer to the subject of *τάσχω*. *δοψ ει μὲν*, Sch., F., but in this usage a comp. or sup. commonly stands with *δοψ*, cf. § 7. — *ταύτην Ιητίαν*: B. *ταύτην τὴν Ιητίαν*, X. — *τούτου μὲν*: Auger. *τούτο μέν*, X. — *ἄμα*: B. *ἄλλα*, X. — *τε λόγων*: B. *γε λόγων*, X.

24. *πυρκαϊδάς*: the word *πυρκαϊδ* regularly means *fire* or, in law, *arson*. Here it is to be interpreted either as in the note or as a burnt stump which has grown up again into a wild olive (see introd. to this speech, p. 3). But either interpretation is unique for this word, and the ancient lexicographers take no notice of it. It may be corrupt. Sandys suggests *πυρκάδάς*, cf. Xen. *Anab. iv. 8. 2*. — *καὶ ἐκκόψα*: bracketed by F., following Halbertsma and Fr.

25. *καὶ τὴν πατρίδα*: added by Kayser, except *καὶ* added by Sch. — *ἐπιγνώμονας*: M., after Harpocration. *γνώμονας*, X. — *παρέχομαι*: W. So xii. 74, where F.¹⁰ follows him, but cf. xxii. 12. *παρέζουμαι*, X, F.⁹ — *ἔξημισσέ μ' ὡς*: Meutzner. Without *μ'*, X. — *ἔργαζόμενον*: C. *ἔργαζομένους*, X.

26. *οὗτος*: inserted before *περὶ* by Dobree. — *μίαν μορίαν*: Herw., Fr. *μορίαν*, X. *μίαν*, Blass, Thalheim.

27. *τῶν τριάκοντα*: X has *τῶν ἑλ.* — *τοιοῦτον*: B. *τοιοῦτο*, X, but see Bl.-Kühn. Gr. I, p. 606.

28. *ἢ*: Morgan. *ἢν*, X, cett.

29. *μορίεν*: Fr. *μορίων*, cett. See p. 3, note 25. — *ἐπεργαζόμενον*: R. *ἀπεργαζόμενον*, X. — *ἱημιώσαι με*: Meutzner, Fr. cf. § 25. *ἱημιώσαι*, X. *με* before *πάποτε*, R. — *ἀπογράψαι*: in X stands *ἀπέγραψέ*. — *με*: T. *με ἐγγὺς*, X.

31. *ἢ ὡς*: T., Fr. *ως*, X. *ῶν*, R., W., but see Bohlmann, *de attractionis usu*, p. 84. — *τᾶλλα*: in the much debated state of the question of accent, I have with F. followed X. *τᾶλλα*, Fr., W., Sch. See G. 119; H. 106; Bl.-Kühn. Gr. I, p. 331, Anm. 4. — *λητουργῶν*: F., Thalheim, after Meisterhans, § 15, 3; Bl.-Kühn. Gr. I, pp. 185, 252. *λειτουργῶν*, X, W.

34. *γάρ ἔχων*: R. *παρέχων*, X. — *ἴτι εἰσὶν*: Westermann, Fr., Rn., W. *εἰσὶν*, X, F. — *ἔτοιμός εἰμι*: Sch. *ἔτοιμος ἡμην*, X. Possibly *ἔτοιμος* stood here without a verb (as often, see Kühn. Gr. § 354 c), and *ἡμην* (see Bl.-Kühn, Gr. II, p. 222) was a late addition. — *ἰσχυρότατον*: B. *ἰσχυρότερον*, X, Fr., W.

35. *δοκεῖ δεινὸν εἶναι*: cod. Venetus acc. to T. *δοκεῖν εἶναι*, X. — *περὶ αὐτῶν*: in X *περὶ αὐτῶν*. — *ἴλοιντο*: Rn. *εἰλοιντο*, X.

36. *οἷμαι εἶναι*: T., from a Ms. *εἶναι εἰπεῖν*, X.

37. *ῆλεγον ἀ οὗτος ἔβούλετο*: B. The last three words stand after *ώμολγουν* in X. *εἰ ἡλεγχοι*, Sch. — *προσήκει*: T., M. *προσήκει*, X. — *μετ' ἔμοι*: Stephanus, Sched. Brul. with the note V.C. (*vetus codex* according to Reiske). This usage of *μετά* seems to be unique in the orators, for Isocr. iv. 53, quoted by Rn., is not a parallel; see Lutz, pp. 84, 82. *μητ' ἔμοι*, X. *πρὸς ἔμοι*, C; see Lutz, p. 155.

38. *τοῦτον*: T. *τούτῳ*, X.

39. *γάρ*: suggested by F. and inserted by Thalheim. — *εἰδέναι*: F., after Bartelt. *ἐγνωκέναι*, Hamaker, Sch., Thalheim, W. In X a verb is lacking. — *ἐπαιτιάτατο*: for a full consideration of this passage, see my note in *Harvard Classical Studies*, Vol. V, 1894.

40. *ἴνεκα*: C. *οὐνέκα*, X, see on xxii. 3. — *ἥδιον*: T. *ἥδη*, X. — *ἔμε αὐτῶν*: Schott. *ἔμε αὐτὸν*, X.

42. *παρὰ*: C. *ἢ ἀρά*, X.

43. *παραδιδόντος*: Fr. *διδόντος*, X.

XII.

1. **τοιαῦτα**: X. **τοιαῦτα γάρ**, Contius, W., but the asyndeton is more striking; cf. 84, and **οὐτως**, XXXII. 21, XIII. 31. — **ἀνάγκη**: Krüger's remark (*Spr.* 62, 1, Anm. 3), that **ἐστι** very rarely occurs with this word, holds good for Lysias. **ἀνάγκη** occurs twelve times: with **ἐστι**, twice, XIII. 92 and 44 (but in the latter there is no inf.); without **ἐστι**, seven times, IV. 8, X. 5, XII. 1, XIX. 1, 3, XXII. 7, XXVI. 6; with **ἢ**, twice, XIII. 79, XXXIII. 4; with **γεγένηται**, once, XXXII. 1. Only in the last passage is the dat. used with the phrase, and it is inserted between **ἀνάγκη** and its verb. For the usage of Andoc., see *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.* II, 57. Cf. App. to XVI. 7.

2. **πρὸ τοῦ**: Lysias uses **πρό** only seven times, always temporally; see Lutz, *Präp.* pp. 3, 60. — **ὑπὲρ τῶν ἴδιων ἢ**: om. F., following Herw.

3. **ποιήσωμεν**: X, F., W., Fr. **ποιήσωμεν**, vulg. Weber, *Entwick. der Absichtssätze*, p. 161, counts this case among subjs.; but for examples in prose of this fut., see GMT. 367, and the note in Gebauer's large edition of Lysias. This is the only case of the construction in Lysias. — **δι' ἀλαχοτρεψ**: the only occurrence, according to Lutz, *Präp.* p. 66, of this phrase in the orators.

5. **πονηροί**: R. **πονηροί μὲν**, X. — **προτρέψαι**: W. **τραπέσθαι**, X, to which **τοὺς λοιποὺς πολίτας** must be taken as subj.; but this changed subj. is awkward, especially in view of **οὐ τοιαῦτα ποιεῖν ἐτόλμων**. F. prefers but does not print W.'s conjecture; cf. Isocr. II. 8, *εἰ δέ τις τοὺς κρατοῦντας τοῦ τλήθους ἐν δρεπῇ προτρέψειεν*. — **τοιαῦτα λέγοντες**: M. **καὶ τοιαῦτα λέγοντες**, X.

6. **πάνεσθαι**: M. **γενέσθαι**, X. — **τὴν δ' ἀρχὴν**: Scaliger. **τὴν ἀρχὴν**, X.

7. **περὶ οὐδενὸς ἥγοντο**: F. and Fr. speak of this phrase as used for the common **παρ' οὐδέν**, and Fr. considers it due to parallelism with the following **περὶ πολλοῦ**. But from Lutz, *Präp.* (p. 152 f.) it would seem that **παρ' οὐδέν** is not used in this sense in the orators, and Lysias uses **περὶ οὐδενὸς** in VII. 26 and XXXI. 31, being the first orator to use the phrase with this verb (Lutz, p. 133). — **ἴνεκα**: C. **οὐνεκα**, X. — **ἄσπερ... πεποιηκότες**: in such sentences the translation *as if* may be used for convenience, but the partic. is not really conditional, as the neg. in such cases is **οὐ**. Cf. VII. 15 and GMT. 867. For examples in Lysias, see XXV. 31, **οἰονται χρῆναι ὃν ἀν βούλωνται κακῶς ποιεῖν, ὥσπερ τῶν μὲν δλλων ἀδικούντων, δριστοὶ δὲ διῆδρες αὐτοῖς γεγενημένοι**, and XXIV. 18, XXXII. 22. In all these, the clause with **ώσπερ** has an ironical tone. See also XXII. 12.

9. **θεούς... νομίζει**: translate, *he didn't believe in gods or in men either*; or else, with Sauppe, cf. the Homeric **οὐδέ τι τιεὶς ἄνερας οὐδὲ θεούς**, *Il.* ix. 238. For **νομίζω** in this latter sense examples are scarce, but see Plat. *Gorg.* 466 B, Ar. *Nub.* 962, both passive.

11. **ἐπειδὴ**: F. **ἐπει**, X. See App. to XXXII. 2. — **ἀμολόγητο**: Fritzsche, since the agreement was on both sides. **ωμολόγος**, X. **ώμολόγησα**, vulg. — **φιάλας**

^{Γρ}
ἀργυρᾶς: C. **φιάλας**, X, the correction being by the first hand (Sohöll). — **τέτταρας**: Pertz. **τέσσαρας**, vulg.

12. *πρός*: rare in Lysias in this local sense, occurring besides in x. 28, xiii. 81, frg. 94 (Lutz, *Präp.* p. 156). — *δτοι*: cod. Vindobonensis, S. *ότη*, X. — *τάδελφοι*: Cob. *τὰ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ*, X.

14. *πρόθυμοι*: X, F., Gr. *πρόθυμοι*, W.

15. *ῆδι*: Morgan, see App. to vii. 16. *ῆδειν*, cett. — *ταθη*: originally a real dat. of the instrument (*sc. δδῶ*), and not an 'instrumental'; see Brugmann, *Gr. Gram.* 2 §§ 83, 187; Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* § 336, η. So *εἰκῆ*, vii. 12. For the other view, see G. Meyer, *Gr. Gram.* 2 p. 364 f.

16. *τριάνθ θυρῶν*: it is impossible to identify these doors with certainty. We do not know how elaborate was the interior of the house of Damnippus, although we know that it ran from one street to another. Nor do we know just where Lysias and Damnippus had their hurried talk. On this subject, see my note in *Harvard Stud. in Class. Phil.* V, p. 52.

17. *ἔγδ μάν*: Ad. Müller. *ἔγδ*, X. — *πεπυσμένος*: corr. from *πεπεισμένος* by first hand, X. — *ἐπ' ἐκείνων*: Aldus. *ἐπ' ἐκείνων*, X.

18. *ἴτι οὐδεμάς*: Cob. *οὐδὲ μᾶς*, X. — *κλίσιον*: S. *κλίσιον*, X. See Meisterhans, Anm. 172, 328.

19. *κτήσισθαι*: Dobree. *κτήσασθαι*, X. See Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* I, p. 156 ff.; GMT. 127; and my note on *δοῦμαι*, § 26. — *καὶ τοῦ τρόπου*: according to Fr., the clause *τῆς γὰρ κτλ.* takes the place of a *ώστε* clause, as in xiii. 80; cf. vi. 17. So Jebb, *Select. from the Attic Orators*, p. 253, comparing Andoc. iii. 33. — *τοῦ αὐτῶν*: vulg. *τοῦ αὐτῶν*, X. — *ὅτε τὸ πρώτον*: X, Sch., Gebauer (who cites Xen. *Anab.* vii. 8. 14, Plut. *Arat.* 2, Thuc. iv. 94, Hom. *Od.* xxiii. 213 f.). *ὅτε πρώτον*, Hertlein, F.; cf. xiv. 16. *ὅτε περ πρώτον*, W.; cf. xvii. 3.

20. *ἄστερ οὐδὲν*: Westermann. *ἄστερ ἀν*, X. "Omit the 'not,' the statement remains intelligible, but ceases to be effective." Jebb, *ibid.* — *γ' ὄντας*: vulg. *ὄντας*, X. — *πάσας μάν*: R. *πάσας*, X. — *εἰσενεγκόντας*: M. *εἰσεγκόντας*, X.

21. *εἰς τοὺς πολεμίους*: see note. Lutz (*Präp.* p. 9) quotes only this example from Lysias. Of his others, the greater part are military, many being this very phrase. — *ἀτίμους*: M. *ἀτίμους τῆς πόλεως*, X.

22. *τοσοῦτον*: vulg. *τοιοῦτον*, X.

24. *δσιον*: vulg. *όσον*, X. — *δ τι*: Brunck. *εἰ τι*, X.

25. *ἢ*: Morgan, see App. to vii. 16. *ἢν*, cett. — *ἴνα* *(ἀποθάνωμεν ἢ ίνα μὴ)* *ἀποθάνωμεν*: the words in brackets are not in X, but were inserted by R.; so Fr., Gebauer. Thus there are two single and three double questions put to Eratosthenes. *ἀντέλεγον ίνα μὴ ἀποθάνητε*, F., following Usener, *Rhein. Mus.* XXV, 590; cf. Spengel, *Rhet.* I, 165 f. But S. and W. follow X; others insert *μὴ* from C.

26. *ἀποκτείνεις*: Kayser. *ἀποκτείνης*, X. — *φῆς*: X, edd., except F., W., φῆ. So below. But see App. to vii. 22. — *οὐκ ἔμοι*: Madvig, *Adv. Crit.* I, 175. *οὐκ οἰει ἔμοι*, X, Sch. *δεῖν* is inserted after *τουτοι* by Cob. and Gebauer after an earlier conjecture of Madvig, but *οἰει χρῆναι*, W., is more probable than

this; *cf.* § 89, VII. 23, XXX. 8. The reading in the text, however, is the most difficult, and perhaps gives the best cadence.

27. **προστάχθη**: R. *έτάχθη*, X. — **ἴπειτα**: X. *ἴπει τοι*, T., Sch. — **τῷ πηττοῖ**: Canter. *τῷ πτστιν*, X. — **γνώμην**: X. *έναντιαν γνώμην*, R., Sch., but the preceding *άντεπώ* makes this unnecessary.

28. **ἴδω**: Cob., following inscriptions; *cf.* Meisterhans, Anm. 262, and p. 213, 38. *ἴν*, X, vulg.

29. **ἰσχυροτέρα**: Dobree. *ἰσχυρότερα αὐτῆς*, X. — **παρὰ τοῦ**: Canter. *παρ' αὐτοῦ*, X.

30. **μὲν δὴ**: C. *μηδεν δη*, X. — **σώζειν . . . παρόν**: S., Sch. *σώζοντα αὐτὸν καὶ τὰ τούτους ἐψηφισμένα διν*, X. — **πᾶσιν**: R. *πάντες*, X. — **ὅργιζεσθε**: X. *ώργιζεσθε*, M., W., but *cf.* § 31, *συγγράμην διν* *ἔχουτε*.

31. **τοῖς διὰ**: R. *τούτοις διὰ*, X.

33. **παρ' αὐτοῖς**: vulg. *παρ' αὐτοῖς*, X. — **περὶ αὐτῶν**: vulg. *περὶ αὐτῶν*, X.

34. **ἴτυγχάνετε** and **ἀπεψήφιζεσθε**: Kayser. *ἴτυχετε* and *ἀπεψήφισασθε*, X. — **ἥντις**: F. *ἥντις*, X, vulg. On the usage of the forms, see Meisterhans, p. 47, § 17, and Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 508; *cf.* App. to XXXII. 4. — **Ἐρατοσθένη**: C. B. *Ἐρατοσθένην*, X.

35. **ἱμέτεροι**: R. *ἡμέτεροι*, X. — **σφᾶς γ' αὐτοὺς**: F. *σφᾶς αὐτοὺς*, X, Sch. Lysias says either *ἢ πον... γε*, or *ἢ πον... σφόδρα* (so W.). See examples in Gebauer, *De arg. ex contr. form.* p. 71 f. — **περιέργους**: X. *περιέργως*, T., Sch., but the following partic. shows the reason why they would be *περιέργοι*. — **ὑπὲρ ὑμῶν**: vulg: *ὑπὲρ ἡμῶν*, X. — **τημαρούμένους**: M. *τημαρούμένους*, X, W. Although the middle of *τημάρομαι* generally denotes revenge in *one's own interest*, yet F. cites I. 40 as parallel to the present case. Hence *διατεινομένους* (Fr.) and *κηδομένους* (Rn.) are unnecessary. The former is too far from X, the latter too weak for contrast with *δῆθσουσιν*.

36. **τεθνεάτων**: R. *τεθνείτων*, X. — **ἀκρίτους**: vulg. *ἀκρίτως*, X. — **ὑφ'**: C. *ἀφ'*, X.

37. **οὐδ' ἀν**: W. *οὐδ'*, X, F., vulg. — **δύναιντ' ἀξίαν**: W. *δύναιντ' ἀν*, X, F., vulg. But F. inserts with M. *ἀξίαν* before *δύναιντο*.

38. **κατηγορούμενα**: *κατηγορούμένα*, X. *κατηγορημένα*, C, Sch. — **λέγοντες**: corr. from *λέγοντας* by first hand of X. — **ὑμᾶς**: Bake. *ὑμῖν*, X, Sch. A possibility would be *ἀποδεικνύντες* *ὑμῖν*. The verb *ἔξαπατάν* is used absolutely in XXXI. 16. — **ἢ ὡς πόλεις**: Meutzner. *ἢ πόλεις*, M., Sch. *πόλεις*, X. The conjecture *ἢ ὡς πρεσβεύσαντες πόλεις* of W. (*cf.* Isocr. XVI. 21, quoted in the note) is attractive but unnecessary.

39. **ἱμετέραν**: R. *ἡμετέραν*, X.

40. **τοσαῦτα ἱσκύλευσαν**: R. *ἐσκύλευσαν τοσαῦτα*, Sch. *τοσαῦτα*, om. X. — **εἴλον**: by erasure from *εἴχον*, first hand of X. — **οἰα τὰ**: Cob. *οἰα*, X. — **δτι ἱστοῖς**: after T., Sluiter, Sch. *οἰα αὐτοῖς*, X. *ἴστοῖς*, Clasen.

41. **αὐτῶν**: Dobree, Francken, p. 85. *αὐτῶν*, X, Sch. This may be kept by supposing with Kayser (so W.) that there is a lacuna before § 42, or by inserting *οὗτος* somewhere after *οὐ . . . πρώτον* in § 42.

42. ἔπραξεν: vulg. ἔπραξαν, X.

43. ὄμετέρη: vulg. ἡμετέρη, X.

44. φυλάς: T. φυλακάς, X, Sch. But the latter would refer to the cavalry, and 1) the ephors had no constitutional powers, and hence could not appoint cavalry officers; 2) if the regular phylarchs were meant, the phrase would be τοῦ φυλάρχους. — χρεῖ: vulg. χρή, X. — μέρον: changed from μέρων in X by first hand. — ψηφίσασθε: Cob. ψηφίσασθε, B., Sch. ψηφίσησθε, X. The fut. indic. here, according to Weber, *ibid.* p. 163, is in a final, not an object clause, and hence falls under GMT. 324. But cf. Aeschin. III. 64 f., where we certainly have object clauses.

45. καλές: Fr. καλ., X, vulg. — νέας: M., T. ἡμᾶς, X.

47. κάκενον: Hertlein. Om. X.

48. ἔχρην ἀν: X, Sch. ἔχρην αὐτὸν, B., F., Fr., W. On the use of ἀν here, see GMT. 423, and p. 410. — ἀλλὰ τά: C. ἀλλὰ τὰληθῆ, X.

50. ἐν τῷ λόγῳ: Lipsius. ἐν τῷ λόγῳ, X, vulg. — τ' αὐτῷ: F. τε αὐτῷ, Sch. τ' αὐτὰ ὡ, X.

51. καὶ τὰς: Rn. suggested ἀποδεῖται after καὶ. W. inserts έάρα after δαφοράς. Hamaker inserted τε after ἀμφέρα, but this leaves the change still too harsh. — μέροις: R. μοι, X.

52. εἰ: Schott. καὶ, X. — κάλλιον: C, Cob. καλλιον ἀν, X, vulg. — κατεληφότος: vulg. κατεληφότες, X. — αὐτοῦ: vulg. αὐτοῦ, X. — εἴνοιαν: M. συνουσίαν, X. — ἐπὶ Φυλῆ: on the note, cf. Vischer in *Rhein. Mus.* IX, 388, who quotes, from an inscription, ἐπὶ Ἐλευσίνι καὶ Πανδακτυφ καὶ ἐπὶ Φυλῆ (CIA. II, part 3, 1217). On the situation and remains of the fortress, see Baedeker's *Greece*, p. 115. — Ἐλευσίναδε: vulg. Ελευσίναδε, X.

53. οἰδεῖσμεν: Geel. οἴδοξαν, X. — Παραίως: T. Πειραιῶς, X. — αἴτος: W. conjectures τούτος, which is attractive.

55. Φείδων: X has, after this word, δ τῶν τριάκοντα, which Herw. struck out. — Δαμητρέως: T. Δαμητρέως, X. — καὶ: om. X. — αἴτοις: M. αὐτοῖς, X. — τοῖς: R. ἡ τοῖς, X. — δαστοῖς: see on § 92. δαστοῖς, X.

56. φ: Rn., S. οι, X. οι, Sch. — τεθνεῖστες: C. τεθνεῖτες, X. — θάττον: Pertz. θάσσον, X.

57. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς δικαῖοις, οἱ τριάκοντα ἀδίκως: R. εἰ δ' ὑμεῖς ἀδίκως, οἱ τριάκοντα δικαῖοις, X, Sch. — δη ἐτέρων: vulg. δι ἐτέρων, X.

58. κρείττους αὐτῶν: vulg. κρείττους αὐτῶν, X.

59. οἰδανεῖσαρτο: vulg. οἴδανεῖσαρτο, X.

60. δῆλος: Fritzsche. Cob. sets it after πόλεις. Om. X. — οἰς: T. οὖς, X. — Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 38 throws light on some of the statements of Lysias here. Hitherto, it has been supposed that τόλεις referred to the cities of the Spartan allies, who (except the Boeotians and Corinthians) followed Pausanias when his jealousy of Lysander led him to Athens (*Xen. Hellen.* ii. 4. 30). But Aristotle says that the Ten who succeeded the Thirty had already fallen before the arrival of Pausanias, and that they were succeeded by a Second Ten, who had

begun negotiations for peace with the patriots in Piraeus before Pausanias came. (Lysias and the other authors do not mention this Second Ten, see above, p. 26.) The forces, therefore, that aided the First Ten were Lysander, with his mercenaries (Xen. *Hellen.* ii. 4. 28 f., in number one thousand, according to Diod. xiv. 33), and his brother Libys with a fleet (Xen. *ibid.*; of forty ships, Diod. *ibid.*). Aristotle does not here mention either of these by name, but says only that the First Ten were helped by Callibius and the Peloponnesians then at hand, together with some of the knights. Callibius was the harmost, sent with a garrison (of seven hundred, according to Arist. 37) to maintain the Thirty. By Πελοποννησιῶν τῶν παρόντων Aristotle may mean what was left of this garrison, or he may mean Lysander and Libys with their forces, or both. Lysias is evidently speaking loosely of what was done under the two Tens. For μοσθ-σάμενοι cannot truthfully be used of the Second, nor πόλεις ἐπάγοντες of the First; while the words Δακεδαιμονίους καὶ τῶν συμμάχων . . . πεῖσαι belong properly to the expedition of Pausanias, who was not summoned by either Ten so far as we know (least of all by the First!). Finally, the following words, οὐδὲ διαλλάξαι δλλ' ἀπολέσαι παρεσκευάζοντο can refer only to the First Ten, the Second having actually begun to negotiate before Pausanias arrived. Hence the Second may well be included under the ἀνδρες διγαθοί (παρεσκευάζοντο τὴν πόλιν εἰ μὴ δὲ ἀνδρας διγαθούσι).

61. οἴδε' δτι οὐδὲ: vulg., Sch. οὐ, om. X. οὐκ οἴδε' δτι, F., after W., who however prints ὡστ' οὐκ οἴδε' δτι. — πλείστων: R. τλείστον, X.

62. Θηραμένους: see above, p. 29. Neither Xenophon nor Thucydides had a very high opinion of this much discussed man, but Aristotle (*Resp. Ath.* 28) eulogizes him highly, and says: "Men of more than superficial judgment do not believe that he was a professional destroyer of all governments, as his detractors say, but rather that he supported all so long as they did not outrage the law; for he was a man who could live under any form of government, — and this is behaving like a good citizen, — but who was the foe, not the tool, of governments that went beyond the laws." — ὡς ἀν: C. ως, X. — παραστῆ κτλ.: the explanation in the note, which I owe to Professor Seymour, shows that the text is not defective here, as most editors think. According to them, the idea must be something like 'let nobody *think it strange (or wrong)* that I accuse Theramenes.' Gebauer conjectures καὶ μηδενὶ τοῦτο ἐπαχθὲς παραστῆ. W. prints ἀδικῶ Θηραμένους κατηγορῶν. — ἀπολογήσασθαι: M. ἀπολογήσασθαι, X. — ἔκεινοις: T. ἔκεινοις, X.

64. γάρ ἡν: R. γάρ, X. — τοὺς Θηραμένους: Sch. τοῦ Θηραμένους, X. The article is not used with this name in this speech. — αἰτίου . . . γεγενημένους: B. αἰτίου . . . γεγενημένους, X.

65. ἵντει αὐτῶν: S. ἵντει αὐτοῖς, X, W. It does not appear from any other author that the πρόβουλοι had power to fill any of the offices. Theramenes, one of the Four Hundred, was nominated and chosen general by the Four Hundred themselves; see Arist. *Resp. Ath.* 30. Cf. Thuc. viii. 89. 2. But perhaps

Lysias is speaking loosely and does not mean *αὐτῶν* to refer to the *πρόβουλοι* but to the Four Hundred, understood in *τοῖς πράγμασι*.

66. ἐαυτὸν παρεῖχεν: Dobree. ἐαυτὸν τῇ πόλει παρεῖχεν, X. — Κάλλαισχρον: vulg. Κάλλαισχρον, X. — προτέρους: Canter. πραοτέρους, X. — αὐτοῦ: Sch. αὐτοῦ, X, vulg.

67. Ἀρχητόλεμον: vulg. Ἀρχητόλεμον, X. — αὐτῷ: vulg., Sch. αὐτῷ, X, W.

68. ηύρηκέναι: F., see Meisterhans, p. 136. εὑρηκέναι, X. — αὐτῷ: S., Sch. αὐτῷ, X, vulg.

69. σωτήρια: M. σωτηρίαν, X. — ίνια: Westermann; cf. Meisterhans, p. 177, and see App. to xxii. 3. οὔνεκεν, X. ίνεκεν, Sch. — ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς: vulg. ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς, X.

70. αὐτὸς ἐκείνοις: Canter. αὐτοῖς ἐκείνοις, X. — Πειραιῶς: vulg. Πειραιῶς, X. — πειριεῖν: vulg. πειραιεῖν, X. — καταλύσαι: vulg. καταλύσαι, X. — ἀποστρήσθε: Cob. ἀποστρηθῆσθε, X.

71. ὀμολογημένος: Westermann. λεγόμενος, X. — ὡς ἐκείνων: M. ὡς ἐκείνου, X. — ἡ Σάμου: the exact chronological order of events here is an extremely vexed question. For the latest consideration of it, see Boerner, *De rebus a Graecis inde ab a. 410 usque ad a. 403 gestis*, Göttingen, 1894, p. 49 ff.

72. παρόντος: Boblentz. παρόντων, X. ^{ος} Either is possible (Schöll). — διαπαιδότο: Cob. ἀπειδότο, X. ἀπειδότο, Sch. The Greeks used διαπειδοῦμαι and ἀπειδῶ, like διακελεύομαι and κελεύω, διδυνυμαι and δυνυμαι. — ψηφίσασθε: vulg. ψηφίσουσθε, X.

73. ὑμᾶς: Contius. ὑμᾶς, X. — ἐκκλησιάστε: S., Sch.; so X in xiii. 73 and 76, and cf. Xen. *Hellen.* v. 3. 18. So the aor. in Thuc. viii. 93; cf. Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, p. 415. ἐκκλησιάστε, X, but the present, though in indir. disc., can hardly be retained on account of ἐν ἐκείνῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ. ἐκκλησιάστε, Fr., F., W. after Dind. Dem.⁸ praef. xxvii f., and so in Lysias xiii. But the principle of false analogy in augment and reduplication of denominative verbs (Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, p. 34) appears often in Lysias, e.g. ἐπεδήμησε, xii. 71, cf. xvi. 4; ἐνετεθύμητο, xii. 70; ἐπεθυμοῦμεν, xvi. 11; ἡρειχόμην, iii. 9; ἐπιτερπευμένος, xxxii. 3; ἐπιτετήθενται, xiii. 65; [ἐπηγώρθωσαν, ii. 70]; and in i. 25 and xxxii. 11 we should probably emend to ἡγεθέλει.

74. παρέχομαι: R., W. παρέξομαι, X. Cf. vii. 25, xxii. 12. — μέλοι: T. μέλλοι, X. — ποιήσασθ'... κελεύοι: X, vulg. before Sch. ποιήσετε... κελεύει, Cob., Sch., F. But see GMT. 690.

75. γοῦν: vulg. γ' οὖν, X.

76. παρηγγέλτο: Cob., Kayser, on account of the following πρότερον ἥθεσαν. Cf. Thuc. viii. 66. 1, 69. 2; Dem. xxiii. 14. παρηγγέλλετο, X. — δέκα δ': B., Sch. δέκα δὲ, Aldus. δέκα, X. — τὴν αὐτῶν: vulg. τὴν αὐτῶν, X.

77. ἐν τῇ βουλῇ: the truth of Xenophon's description of this whole scene with its dramatic ending is now open to the gravest doubts. See Aristotle's account of it (*Resp. Ath.* 37), evidently in part, at least, based on documentary

evidence; cf. Bauer, *Lit. und hist. Forschungen zu Arist. Ath. Pol.*, p. 163 f. — δι' αὐτὸν: S. δι' αὐτὸν, X, vulg. — φροντιζόντων: Dobree, Sch. φροντίζων δὲ (ε, W.) τῶν, X. φροντιζόντων αὐτῶν, W. — τοὺς εἰρημένους τρόποις ὑπ' ἔμοι: on this order, cf. Dem. xix. 174, τὴν μὲν γραφείσαν ἐπιστολὴν ὑπ' ἔμοι, and see Frohberger's critical note in his large edition. Lysias has the noun following the partic. in xiii. 43, τὰς γεγενημένας συμφορὰς τῇ πόλει. But in our passage I think that the unusual order need not be defended on any general principle, since it is necessary for clearness in order to separate αὐτοῖς which follows from τρόποις. — αὐτοῖς αἰτίος: Kayser. αὐτὸς αἰτίος, X. — αὐτοῖς ἔργῳ: M., after C. αὐτῷ ἔργῳ, X. αὐτὸς ἔργῳ, M., Sch. αὐτῷ τῷ ἔργῳ, Fr., W.

78. αἰτίᾳ γεγενημένῳ: W. αἰτίῳ γεγενημένον, R., Sch. αἰτίῳ γεγενημένοι, X. — αὐτοὺς φίλους: Stephanus, vulg. αὐτοὺς φίλους, X. — τῇς αὐτοῦ: B. τῇς αὐτοῦ changed from αὐτῶν (vulg. before B.) by the first hand of X. — ἥδη... κατέλιπε: X, Sch., W. δις... κατέλιπε, S., F., in the belief that it is improbable that Lysias would not have referred to Theramenes's attempt to overthrow the Thirty, and for parallelism with the following δις. But Lysias is careful scarcely to refer at all to any opposition by Theramenes to the Thirty (only in § 77), for this was what won Theramenes favour with the people.

79. τῶν τούτου: Rn. τῶν τοντού, X. — μὲν: added by R.

80. μέλλειν: vulg. μέλειν, X. — ὑμένες ὑμῖν: F.; cf. Dem. xxiv. 157. ὑμᾶς αὐτοῖς, X.

81. κατηγόρηται: Bache, Sch., W. κατάγγωτε, Emperius, F. κατηγορεῖτε, X. — μὲν: I have adopted this from Fuhr's suggestion in his critical note. For confusion of μὲν and δὲ in the MSS., cf. Gebauer to xiii. 30 (smaller edition); for μέν, μέντοι, cf. Plat. *Protag.* 247 A, Xen. *Anab.* ii. 1. 13. δὴ, Sch. μὲν δὴ, W. δὲ, X. — αὐτὸς ἡν: M. αὐτὸς ἡν, X. — κρινομένων: R. γνωμένων, X.

82. καὶ οὗτοι: Dobree. κατοι οὗτοι, X. — ἀκρίτους: X has ἀκρίτως; so in §§ 36 and 83.

83. ἀποκτείνατε: B. ἀποκτείνοτε, vulg., Sch. ἀπεκτείνοτο, X. — δημεύσατε: R. δημεύσετε, X. — τὰς οἰκλας: Sch. οἰκλας, X.

84. ικανὴν οὐκ: Sintenis. οὐκ, X. Reiske inserted ικανὴν after λαβεῖν. αὐτῶν ἀξιαν, Rn., W. — δύνασθε: B. δύνησθε, X. — δοκεῖ: vulg. δοκῆ, X. — τοσούτον ἡ: R. τοσούτον δ', X.

85. δύναντο: M. δύναιντο, X. — ἀλθεῖν: C. ἀλεῖν, X. — ἔσεσθαι καὶ: Cob., Fritzsche; cf. xxii. 19, xxx. 34. ἔσεσθαι τῶν πεπραγμένων, X. — ἔσεσθαι τῶν τε πεπραγμένων, R., S., Sch., F., Fr., W.

86. συνεργούντων: R. συνεργούντων, X. — κάγαθοι: T. ἡ ἀγαθοί, X. — τῇς τούτων: M. τῇς, X. — ἀπολλόναι: M. ἀποδούναι, X. — οὐδὲ τὰ: R. οὐτε τὰ, X.

87. Ἐρατοσθένη: X has Ἐρατοσθένην. — τεθνεάτων: C. τεθνεάτων, X.

88. τῶν ἔχθρων: Gebauer. παρὰ τῶν ἔχθρων, X. — δεινὸν εἰ: δεινὸν οἱ, X. — ἀπολέσασιν ἐπ': C. B. ἀπολέσασιν δήπου ἐπ', S., Sch. ἀπολέσασιν δήπου ἐπ', R. ἀπολέσασιν δήπου, X, with a marginal note signifying corruption. — βοηθεῖν: vulg. Νοηθεῖν, X.

89. **τολλῷ**: R. **τολλοῖ**, X. — **ράσον**: Contius. **ράσδιον**, X. — **τῶν ἀλλων Ἑλλήνων**: for the latest and fullest consideration of this class of genitives, see Schwab, *Hist. Syntax der gr. Comparation*, pp. 38 ff., 162 ff., 289 ff.

90. **δεῖξετε**: M. **δεῖξατε**, X.

91. **τούτων**: X, vulg. **τούτου**, F. But see p. 28, note 25. — **κρύβθην εἶναι**: Sch. **κρύβθην**, X.

92. **Πειραιῶν**: vulg. **Πειραιέων**, X; also in §§ 94, 95. — **διὰ τούτων**: X, B., W. (*Jahrb. CXXXVIII*, p. 312). **διὰ τούτων**, C, Sch., F. — **ἀστεως**: F. **ἀστεος**, X, vulg. But see Bl.-Kühn. *Gr. I*, p. 441; Meisterhans, p. 108.

93. **μὲν ἔκ**: Baiter, Sch. **μὲν ἀν ἔκ**, X. — **όνειδῶν**: vulg. **όνειδιῶν**, X.

94. **πονηροτάτων**: R. **πονηροτέρων**, X. — **σφετέρας**: M. **ὑμετέρας**, X.

95. **ἀπέκτειναν**: R. **ἀπέκτενον**, X. — **ἀφθικούτες**: R. **ἀφελόντες**, X. — **αὐτῶν** (in both places): vulg. **αὐτῶν**, X.

96. **ἀφθιησαν**: Boblenz. **ἀφθιησαν**, X, Sch. — **σωτήρια**: R. So X, corrected from **σωτηρία** by first hand. **σωτηρία**, cett. codd.

97. **οὐδέν**: inserted by Canter. — **ὑπέρ τε τῶν ιερῶν**: **τε** inserted by S. — **ἡδύνασθε**: the Ms. gives the augment in **ἡ** both here and in vii. 7. In § 36 and other places generally it gives **ἡ**. In the uncertain state of the question (see Bl.-Kühn. *Gr. II*, p. 404; Meisterhans, p. 184) I have with F. followed the Ms. in all cases. See G. 517; H. 355 b.

100. **ἡμῶν**: Auger. **ὑμῶν**, X. — **κατεψηφισμένους ἔστεθαι**: Kayser. **καταψηφισθαι**, X. — There is a full treatment of the popular belief in this period on the state after death by H. Meuss in the *Jahrbücher für Philologie*, CXXXIX, p. 801 ff., *die Vorstellungen vom Dasein nach dem Tode bei den attischen Rednern*. In the popular speech the dead were called neither body nor soul (*σῶμα, ψυχή*), but simply 'the dead' (*οἱ ἀποθανόντες, οἱ τετελευτήτες*). Of their physical condition nothing is clearly formulated. But it was the general view that they still existed. Death did not mean annihilation, but only the end of life on earth; cf. Lys. xii. 88; ii. 70. The dead were supposed to know what went on in the world, as is clear from our passage, although the idea is put more strongly here than anywhere else in the orators. Elsewhere it is conditioned; cf. Isocr. ix. 2, *εἰ τις ἔστιν αἰσθητος τοῖς τετελευκοῖς τερὶ τῶν ἐνθάδε γιγνομένων* (the same in xix. 42, cf. 44; Lycurg. *Leocr.* 136; Dem. xix. 66, xx. 87, xxiii. 40). It was believed that one should act so as to please them, and should avoid what would displease them; cf. the above passages, Aeschines III. 259; Isaeus ix. 4, 19; Lys. *Frag.* 74, Sch. Their friends should punish their enemies and murderers (Lys. xiii. 41, 42, 92), for they themselves were helpless (xii. 36, 88). It is clear that the Homeric idea of a consciousnessless *ψυχή* (the *ἀμενηνά κάρηνα* of Od. xi) is gone, although what replaces it is still quite undefined in conception.

XVI.

1. *συνήδη*: Morgan. See App. to VII. 16. *συνήδειν*, cett.
2. *ἀηδῶς*: R. *ἀηδῶς ἢ κακῶς*, X, but R. rightly explained *ἢ κακῶς* as a gloss.
3. *ἐπιδείξω*: X, Sch. *ἀποδείξω*, Herw., F., Fr. W., and so in XXXII. 27, *ἐπέδειξε*, X, Sch., but *ἀπέδειξε*, Pluygers, F., Fr. W. In both places the reason for the change seems to be a wish to make Lysias use the same compound throughout a given speech, for in XVI. 7 and 12 the compound of *ἀπό* is used and also in XXXII. 3, 6, 20, 22, 25. But the task of establishing such conformity in the authors would be endless and useless. *E.g.*, in Lys. XXIX. 13, we have the compound of *ἐπί* (emended by nobody), but in § 5, *ἀπό*, in XXX. 15, *ἐπί*, in § 9, *ἀπό*. In Dem. XVIII. 95 and 142 *ἐπί*, in §§ 131, 250 *ἀπό*, in XXVII. 47, 48, 50, 51, 52 *ἐπί*, in §§ 19, 26, 62 *ἀπό*. The subst. *ἐπιδείξις* occurs in Lys. XXXIII. 2, Dem. XVIII. 280, but *ἀποδείξις*, Lys. XII. 19, Dem. XVIII. 300, 310, all in practically the same sense. A different principle seems to govern Herwden's emendation in Lys. I. 4 where he changed *ἐπιδείξαι* (followed by *τοῦτο ὡς*) to *ἀποδείξαι* because in § 5 *ἐπιδείξαι* is used with the simple accusative. This is exactly contrary to what he did in XVI. 3, where he changed *ἐπιδείξω* (followed by *τοῦτο ὡς*) to *ἀποδείξω*, although the latter occurs with the simple acc. in § 7 and with the partic. there and in § 12. And if the choice depended on a difference of constructions, we should certainly keep *ἐπιδείκνυμ* with the strange inf. in XXXII. 27 (*cf.* Xen. Mem. II. 3. 17), since none of the constructions used with *ἀποδείκνυμ* in the same speech are like this. The fact is, that though properly there was a distinction between the two verbs, they were synonyms in common usage, in the general sense of *show*, *prove*, and it mattered not which an author wrote. A look over the examples in Demosthenes (see Preuss's Index) is enough to convince one of this; see also the lexicon. From Lysias, I quote the following constructions: *ἐπιδείκνυμι* with simple acc., I. 5; 21; III. 44; with partic., XXIV. 1; XXX. 15; *δτι*, XXVIII. 9; XXIX. 13; *περιπερον*, XXVIII. 10; *τοῦτο δτι* or *ὡς*, I. 4; XVI. 3; inf., XXXII. 27; mid., XII. 52; pass., IV. 12. — *ἀποδείκνυμι*, with simple acc., XIII. 51; XVI. 7; XXVIII. 4; XXX. 11; 13; XXXII. 17; 20, 22, 25; with partic., VII. 39, 43; XVI. 12; XXIX. 5; XXX. 9; XXXII. 3; 6; *ὡς*, III. 4; VII. 14; XII. 38; XIII. 33; 83; XIV. 22; XXII. 6; *τοῦτο ὡς*, XXIII. 1, *cf.* XII. 34; *δπου*, XII. 39; *περι πούτων*, XXXI. 16 (corrected by first hand from *ἐπί*); pass., III. 40; XVII. 10; XXXII. 29. The conclusion is that we should follow the best codices in all such cases. — *φαίνωμαι καὶ*: R. *φαίνωμαι*, X. — *ἴππειν*: M. *ἴππειν οὐτ' ἐπεδήμουν*, X, but the position of the last two words is suspicious, and *ἐπεδήμουν* may have been suggested by the occurrence below of *ἐπεδημούμεν*.
4. *ἐπεδημούμεν*: M.'s conjecture for the verb of this clause om. in X. — *μεθισταμένης τῆς πολιτείας*: Aldus, vulg. *μεθισταμένη τῆς πολιτείας*, X.
5. *καὶ μηδὲν*: Halbertsma. *καὶ τοῖς μηδὲν*, X. But there is no distinction intended between the two classes.

6. ἄγγεγραμμένοι: M. ἄγγεγραμμένοι, X, wrong on account of the preceding ἐν and dative. — ἀναπάττηται: vulg. before Scheibe. ἀναπάττηται, X. Of recent editors only Jebb and Shuckburgh retain the vulg., but this seems right to me, for it is near the reading of X, and in its tense (GMT. 87) it denotes the repeated number of cases which would arise after the report of the phylarchs had *once for all* (ἀπενεγκεῖ, aor., cf. App. to xxxii. 2) been made. Lysias is very careful in observing this distinction between the pres. and aor. subjv. or opt. All the final clauses cited from him by Weber (*Entwick. der Absichtssätze*, p. 160 ff.) bear out the rule in GMT. (save the only apparent exceptions in which εἰδῆται and ἔτιστηται appear). This is particularly well illustrated in XII. 72, XXII. 15, and XXXII. 22, where both tenses are used in the same sentence. Fuhr and Sch. read ἀναπάττηται (Schedae Brulart., T., cf. Harp. s.v. κατάστασι), so Weber himself, p. 162; S. and W. read ἀναπάττεται.

7. συνδίκοις: followed in X by οὐτε κατάστασις παραλαβόντα: del. Halbertsma, see Fuhr *ad loc.* — γνῶναι δέται: Kayser. γνῶναι δέται, X. — ἀποδεῖξαι: Cob. ἀποδεῖξαι, X. — αὐτοῖς: dat., in spite of its nearness to the inf., because of φυλάρχοις which belongs closely to the impers. phrase ἀγαγαῖος ήν. Cf. And. II. 7 and my note in *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* II, p. 58. Below, ιππεῖσαντας could not be dat., in spite of its nearness to the impersonal, on account of the preceding ἔκεινοις. The other instances of this impersonal in Lys. are ἀγαγαῖνται μοι τοις λέγειν, XVII. 1, and ἀγαγαῖνταιοις ff. in XII. 9, where the μοι belongs to ἔδοκει. See App. to XII. 1.

8. ὥστε μηδὲν δι' ἄλλο με τηγίσθε: T. ὥστ' εἰ μηδὲν διαβάλλομαι τηγίσθε, X. — ή: Morgan, see App. to VII. 16. ή, X, edd.

9. ταῦταις: X, W. αὐτῆς, Fr., F., but W. notes 'alitai latius patent quam τὰ κατηγορημένα.' — μόνων: vulg. μόνοι, X. Either form might stand.

10. μηδεπάτοτε . . . γενόσθαι: for a full consideration of the syntax of this passage, see my note in *Harvard Studies in Class. Phil.* III, p. 191 f. Add XXXII. 2 to the passages there quoted. For ἔγκλημα in the sense of *ground of complaint*, not the mere written accusation, cf. XXXII. 2, and see M. and S., p. 195.

11. διφέρηται: S. διφέρηται, X. — τὰς: Rn. περὶ τὰς, X, but cf. Theopomp. apud Athen. 261 B, 527 A, 532 D. τέρπας, Cob., W.

13. Βουατοῖς, Pertz, as Lys. did not use the article with names of peoples. τοῖς Βουατοῖς, X. — ἔφεν: vulg. έτι, X. So in Plat. *Protag.* 360 E, ἔφη, B, έτι, T. "This use of φέναι is rare enough (see the note), but if it is to be altered it is better to write επονοι with Dobree, cf. I. 23, than to strike out έτι with W. and write μέκελενον ἐκ τοῦ." F. Still, see W. on this whole passage in *Jahrbücher*, CXXXVIII, p. 318. — παρασκευάσαντι: margin of the Leyden and Hamburg Aldines, R., Fr. παρασκευάσαντι, X.

15. ἀναποθανόντων: M. ἀνθανόντων, X. — οὐτεροις: Contius. οὐτεροις, X. — Στειριώται: Cob. Στειριέως, X. Contraction may occur in gen. and acc. of -εται when -ευ- follows a vowel. G. 287; H. 208 D. This regularly happened in

the fifth century and first part of the fourth; Meisterhans, § 55, 9. See on xxiii. 5. — **ἀνθρώποις**: vulg. **ἀνοίς**, X.

16. **παρένει**: Herbst. **προσιένει**, X. The object was to get by, not to attack. — **ἀποκληρώσαι**: M., W., on account of **ἀκληρωτί** below, so that **ἀποκληρώσαι**, X, F., would be due to a gloss. Cf. Thuc. iv. 8. 9; Hdt. ii. 32; iii. 25. With **ἀποκληρώσαι** the phrase **ἀπὸ τοῦ λοιποῦ στρατοπέδου** must be understood. — **σεσωμένους**: W., cf. H. 461 a; Veitch, s.v.; Bl.-Kühn., II, p. 544; Meisterhans, § 69, 3. **σεσωμένους**, X, F., vulg.

18. **κομῆ**: Hamaker. **τολμᾶ**, X. But **ἀπ' ὅψεως** is pointless without **κομῆ**, and if **ἐπιτηδεύματα** refers to **τολμᾶ**, then **ἐκ . . . ἔθελόντων** has no antithesis. With **ώφελεντθα** Lys. has elsewhere **ἐκ** and the gen. of *things*; cf. xxii. 18; xxii. 20; xxvii. 7; but of *persons* **ἐπό**, ix. 14, and **ἀπό**, xviii. 20.

19. **ἀμπεχόμενοι**: Dobree. **ἀπερχόμενοι**, X.

20. **τὰ τῆς πόλεως**: R. **τῶν τῆς πόλεως**, X.

21. **τοὺς τούτους**: Francken. **τούτους**, X. — **ἀξίους τινὸς**: Gebauer after Dobree's **τινὸς ἀξίους**. In X, **τινὸς** is omitted, but **ἀξίους** seems not to occur absolutely in Attic. On the other hand, as **τις** in this pregnant sense is used (acc. to Fr., but see xix. 58 ?) in only one other place in Lys. (xvii. 1), R. was perhaps right in suggesting **λόγους**, cf. [Lys.] ix. 13; better Cobet's **τολλοῦ**, cf. x. 3, xxxiii. 3. — W. with Francken supposes that the end of the speech is lost, but see Blass, *Att. Bereds.* I, p. 520 f.

XXII.

1. **ὅτι**: X, vulg., Thalheim. **ὅτε**, S., F., Fr., W., unnecessarily, for in the sense here there is no actual difference between **θαυμάζοντες ὅτε** and **ὅτι**, and **ὅτε** could not well belong to the *perfect* **προσεληνίθασιν**. — **τοὺς λόγους**: Hirschig, F., W., approved by Sch., cf. xii. 2, xxiv. 26. **λόγους**, X. **πουσμένους λόγους**, Fr., Thalheim.

2. **οὐς ἀκρίτους**: Aldus. **οὶς ἀκρίτως**, X, C. — **γνώσεσθαι**: Aldus. **γνώσεσθε**, X. — **ἀκρίτους ἀπολωλέναι**: X, vulg. Röhl considered **ἀκρίτους** a gloss, and F. conjectures **ἀδίκως**. But **ἀκρίτους**, though an unnecessary addition, is a natural one from the speaker's point of view; cf. Xen. *Anab.* v. 7. 29.

3. **ἴνεκα**: Sch. here and in §§ 12, 20 (*bis*); cf. on vii. 40, xxxii. 10. **οὐρέκα**, X. — **βουλήν**: X. **διαβολήν**, Halbertsma, Fr., but this leaves **μέν** without meaning, and **αὐτοῖς** and **τῶν δλλων** obscure.

4. **αἰσχρὸν δ'**: Dobree, who transferred the **δ'** from **δεδιώς δὲ**, X, C.

5. **ἀνάβητε**. **εἰπὲ σὺ ἔμοι**: Fr., on account of **σύ**, which shows that the first inv. is addressed to the whole company of dealers. **ἀνάβηθι εἰπὲ σὺ ἔμοι**, X, C. **ἀνάβηθι καὶ εἰπὲ σὺ ἔμοι**, R., Sch. — **ἀξίοις**: S. **ἀξιῶς ἦ**, X, B. **ἦ ἀξιῶς**, Francken, F., W., Fr. But the **ἦ** is more likely to be an interpolation than to have been transferred in position, and it is not necessary in the formula with **ἀλλο τι**;

cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 467 D, 470 B, *Euthyphro* 10 D, and Kr. *Spr.* 62, 3, 8, Kühn. § 587, 18. Yet for *ἄλλο τι οὖν ἦ*, cf. And. I. 95.

6. *πλείω σῖτον*: M., after *σῖτον πλείω*, Stephanus. *πλείω* om. X, which, acc. to W., has *πόλεισιτον* corrected to *πόλει σῖτον*.

7. *χρῆν*: R. *χρὴ*, X. — *καὶ μακρότερον*: X, vulg., F. *διὰ μακροτέρων*, P. R. Mueller, Fr., W., as the usual phrase, cf. Isocr. xiv. 3. Cobet wrote *μακρότερα*, on the ground that not *μακρός* but *μακρὰ εἰπεῖν* (cf. Isocr. iv. 73) is proper; but cf. *λεγόμενον μακρῶς*, Antiph. *Incert.* 268 Kock. And for *μακρότερον* (= *a longer speech*) F. compares Hyper. III. xlvi. 20, *βραχὺ δὲ τοι εἰπών*.

8. *τέτταρες*: Bergk. *δύο*, X, i.e. in archetype δ' (= *τέτταρες*) which was taken for *δύο*. Cf. Kaibel on And. I. 17 in *Hermes* XVII, p. 414, Droysen, *Sitzungsber. d. Berl. Akad.*, 1882, p. 218. *νῦν*, Thalheim. — *φιλονεικοῦσιν*: X. *φιλονικοῦσιν*, F., W. — *καν ὄβολῳ*: Graux, F., W. (who omits *αὐτοὺς*). *ὄβολῳ* X, vulg. See p. 90, note 18.

9. *δὲ τῆτες*: Emperius, Thalheim. *δὲ ἐπιτηδεῖς*, X. *δ' ἔτι τῆτες*, R., W. *δ' ἐπὶ τῆς τῆτες*, Fr. *δ' ἐπὶ τῆσδε*, B., Sch., F. — *καὶ ὡς ... φαίνονται*: F. considers this an interpolation, as Lysias does not elsewhere add anything after *παρέξομαι* but at once produces the witness (in X a lacuna here follows that word with *μρ* in the margin), and because of the somewhat awkward repetition of *οὗτος, τούτους, οὗτοι*. It may be added that the words from *οὗτοι δέ* seem scarcely to depend strictly upon *ως*, for Anytus would be called merely as a witness to what he had said the year before. Wilamowitz, *Aristoteles und Athen*, II, p. 377, would omit *ως* and set a colon or period before *καὶ*.

10. *ἀπολογήσεσθαι*: Stephanus. *ἀπολογήσασθαι*, X, Aldus.

11. *ἄλλα γάρ*: Aldus, R., edd. *ἄλλα μὲν γάρ*, X. — *τούτῳ τῷ λόγῳ οὐκ ἔλεισεσθαι*: W., Thalheim; for *ἔλεισω* similarly used cf. § 21, xxvii. 12, xxviii. 14, Plat. *Apol.* 34 C, Dem. xxvii. 53, and see on § 21. *τοῦτον τὸν λόγον οὐκ ἔλεισεσθαι*, X, vulg. *καταφεύξεσθαι*, Rn. *τρέψεσθαι*, Cob. *πορεύεσθαι*, Fr. On *ἔλεισεσθαι*, only here in Attic prose, see Lobeck, *Phryn.*, p. 37 f. Rutherford (*New Phrynicus*, p. 110) defends it here, believing that the inf. *ἴειν* never has a fut. sense. But see GMT. 30, and for two excellent examples of a future sense in *-ίέιν*, cf. xxv. 22. It may be that *ἔλεισεσθαι* was a gloss on some rare word of similar meaning. — *ὅμιν*: C. *ἡμῖν*, X.

12. *ἴνεικα*: see App. to § 3. — *νῦν*: Hofmeister, *Iota Demonstr.* p. 45. *νῦν*, X, vulg. — *ὑμᾶς μάρτυρας παρέχομαι*: X, Thalheim, vulg. before Sch., who followed M.'s *ὑμῖν μάρτυρας παρέχομαι*. *ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ*, so F., W. It is true that one might expect *αὐτούς* with *ὑμᾶς* (cf. vii. 25, xii. 74, Plat. *Apol.* 19 D), yet the change is unnecessary.

14. *αὐτοί*: M. *οὗτοι*, X. — *κεκλήσθαι*: S. *κεκλεῖσθαι*, X, Sch.

15. *ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς*: Rn., Cob., Fr., F. *ἐν τούτοις τοῖς*, X, Sch., W. *ἐν τοῖς καιροῖς*, Thalheim. — *ἐν οἰστερ*: X. *ωστερ*, Thalheim. *ἐν οἰς περιγέγονται*, W. *ἐν οἰστερ οὐδ'*, R. Observe that the clause *ὅταν γάρ κτλ.* is not so narrow in sense as not to include war times.

17. *ἴστιν*: X., F., Fr., Thalheim. *ἴστιν*, Sch., W., after Hermann's theory, see Göttling, *Accentl.*, p. 404.

18. *ἀρνούμένων*: a wholly uncertain restoration which, in order to give an antithesis to *τοὺς ὀμολογοῦντας*, I write after *καὶ ἀρνούμένων*, Dobree. *ἄλλ' ἀρνούμένων*, S., F., W. (where the conjunctions seem unlikely). Cf. *ἄλλ' ἀμφισβητούντων*, Fr., *ἀμφισβητούντων*, Thalheim. *λαμβάνειν*, X., which M. and Sch. merely omit as dittography from below; but F. suggests that *ἀμαρτάνειν* may have somehow stood here. *πειραμένων λανθάνειν*, R. — *ἐπιθυμέτε*: X., F., Thalheim, cf. GMT. 503, Gebauer, *Arg. ex contr.* p. 50. *ἐπεθυμεῖτε*, R., Sch. *ἐπιθυμεῖτε*, Dobree, Fr., W. — *τῶν ἀρνούμένων*: after these words R. and W. add *ἢ παρὰ τῶν ὀμολογοῦντων*, unnecessarily, cf. xxxii. 21, Xen. *Anab.* vi. 1. 23, both cited by F.

19. *τούτων*: Kayser. *αὐτῶν*, X.

20. *ἴνεκα*: see on § 3. — *παραδείγματος*: X.; om. Dobree, but cf. [Isocr.] i. 34, *παραδείγματα τοιοῦ τὰ παρεληλυθότα τῶν μελλόντων*. — *οὗτος γάρ*: X. *οὗτοι γάρ*, T., W. — *μόνις*: X., edd. *μόνως*, P. R. Müller, cf. Aeschin. i. 34, *μόνως γάρ ἀν* *οὐτῶς ἀνεκτο γένοντο*, and Dinarch. i. 27. But for *μόνις* F. cites the use of *μόνις* in Isocr. viii. 27, [i]. 52, Dem. *Proem.* xxx. — *αἰροῦνται*: T. *αἴρουνται*, X. — *παύσασθαι*: Aldus, vulg. before Sch., who with later edd. wrote *παύεσθαι* for *παύσασθαι*, X. But the aor. is the proper tense here as in § 8. Cf. GMT. 87, and see App. to xvi. 6.

21. *ἀπέθνησκον*: cf. Meisterhans, p. 50. *ἀπέθνησκον*, X. — *ἴφ' οὐς*: R. *ἴφ' οἰς*, X., but cf. § 5. — *παρὰ τούτων*: T. *παρ' αὐτῶν*, X. — *τίν' αὐτοὺς*: R. *τίνα* *αὐτοὺς*, C. *τὴν αὐτὴν*, X. — *εἰσπλέουσιν*: R. *ἐκπλέουσιν*, X.

22. *ὅτου*: S. *ὅτε*, X., Sch. This emendation removes one of the rare uses of the indic. in a general condition cited in GMT. 535.

XXIII.

1. *τούτῳ*: Sch. *τούτῳ*, X., vulg. On the omission of the article, see Rn. on xiii. 16, xxiv. 6, and Hofmeister, *Ueber Gebr. und Bedeut. des Jota demonstr.*, p. 33 f.

2. *διπόθεν*: M. *διπόθε*, X. — *Ἴπποθεωντίδι*: S. from inscriptions, cf. Meisterhans, p. 17. *Ἴπποθεωντίδι*, X.

3. *τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς, ἵνα οἱ*: vulg. *τοὺς ἐρμασινᾶ. οἱ*, X. *τοὺς Ἐρμᾶς οἱ*, W. On the position and nature of 'the Hermae' see Milchhöfer in Baumeister's *Denkmäler*, p. 166, and the passages collected by him in Curtius, *Stadtgeschichte von Athen*, p. XXXIII, 90 ff., and p. XCI, 40 ff. The old view (still defended by Curtius *ibid.* p. 170) that they were a double row running east and west and dividing the market into halves, the 'political agora' lying to the south, is not supported by these passages. These show only that 'the Hermae' began at the

Stoa Poecile (situation doubtful) and the Stoa *τοῦ βασιλέως*, that they were many, that the place where they stood was called simply *οἱ Ἐρμαῖ*, that they were a good starting point for making the circuit of that part of the market where were the *ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα*, that they were near shops, that they were probably not in a stoa, and that they were in the market. (I owe this note to Professor White.) — γυνάστκοι: γυνάσκοιεν, X. — φεύγοι: R. φύγοι, X.

5. Πλαταιῶν: Cobet on Hyperid. *Eriaph.* p. 44; cf. Meisterhans, p. 37, and see App. to xvi. 15. So Πλαταιᾶς and Πλαταιᾶ throughout this speech. Πλαταιῶν, etc., X, vulg. — ὕδν: Morgan, and so below. Cf. App. to xii. 34. νύδν, X, edd.

6. γυνάστκοι: γυνάσκοι, X. — ὕδν: see on § 5. — γῆδη: Morgan. See App. to xii. 15. — ἵηη: Rn., cf. Meisterhans, pp. 66, 130. ξηη, X, vulg.

9. ὕπδ τοῦ: Heldmann, F., W. ὕπδ, X, Sch. — ἐμαρτύρησεν: X, which Sch. defends against Westermann's ἐμαρτύρετο. — εἰς αὔριον: Wilamowitz, *Arist. und Athen*, II, p. 371, note 6. εἰς ἀγορὰν, X, edd.

10. ἀντιγράφης: edd. before and since B. ἀντιγρά, X. ἀντιγράψεως, C, B. — λέγων: after it Rn.⁷ inserted δέ τερος, believing that there was a difference in meaning between ἔκαιρεσθαι and ἀφαιρεσθαι here; but cf. F.'s critical note, and M. and S. p. 659.

11. τοῦτον ἔκαιροτο ή ἄγοι φάσκων: Sch. after R. who conjectured τοῦτον ἔκαιροτο ή εἰς δουλειὰν ἄγοι φάσκων. τοῦτον ἄγοι ή φάσκων, X.

13. γυνάστκεν: γυνάσκειν, X. — αὐτὸς: Hertlein. οὐτος, X. — Ἀριστόδηκος: C, corrected. ἀριστόδημος, X, C1.

14. ἐπισκηψάμενος: T. ἐπισκεψάμενος, X. — αὐτοῦ: C. αὐτὸν, X. — ἐπειδὴ: ἐπει, X. See on xxxii. 2. — ἔκέτεσε: F., cf. Meisterhans, p. 144. ἔξέτεσε, X, vulg. — καθ' δ τι: Morgan. καθτι, X, edd.

15. ἔκει φέκι: Rn. after M.'s φέκι ἔκει, the adverb being omitted in X.

16. ἀ κατ': Wilamowitz, *ibid.* p. 372, note 9. κατ ἀ, X, edd.

XXIV.

1. οὐ πολλοῦ: C, D'Orville, B. πολλοῦ, X, Aldus, R. δλίγου, Contius, Cob. πολλὴν δλίγου, W. — γάρ: M., om. X. — ἐφ' ής: X, edd. ἐφ' ή, Dobree; but for the gen., cf. Hdt. vii. 150, Isocr. xx. 13 (where, however, his avoidance of hiatus may account for it), and Dem. xxi. 180, τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς πομπῆς καὶ τοῦ μεθειεν πρόφασιν. See Lutz, *Präp.* p. 102. — δοίην: for the fullest consideration of the construction, see Hale in *Transactions Am. Phil. Assoc.* 1893, p. 156 ff. — ἀξιον: as βεβιώκα ἀξιος does not seem to be Greek, we must emend with R. to ἀξιως, or else, as Rn. suggests, insert βλον, unless indeed the distance of ἀξιον from βεβιώκα accounts for the solecism.

2. δοκεῖ: Aldus. δοκῆ, X. — εἰ μὲν κτλ.: X, explained, as in the note, by Guttentag, F., Thalheim. οὐ μὲν γάρ ἔνεκα χρημάτων με (C) συκοφαντεῖ, S., Sch., and οὐδὲ . . . τιμωρεῖται (omitting ψεύσεται), Cob., Kayser, Sch.

3. λασθαι: Cob. λασθαι καλῶ, X. λασθαι, ελκτως, P. R. Müller, Thalheim.

4. οἶδε τ' ὁ: P. R. Müller, W.; cf. Dem. xxxvii. 3. οἶον, X. οἶδν τε, Aldus, vulg. But the subjv. of εἰμι is not elsewhere omitted in this formula in the orators (Schulze, *Quaest. Gramm.* p. 17, who conjectured οἶδν τ' γί), and in it the personal construction prevails, as Schulze's examples show. Cf. ὡς ἀν δύνωμαι, xii. 3, 62, xvi. 9, xix. 1. The omission of the subjv. in *Antiphon*, v. 32, vi. 8 (if genuine) does not affect the usage in our formula.

5. τὴν . . . εὐπορίαν . . . τὸν δόλλον: Aldus, C. τῆς . . . εὐπορίας . . . τῶν δόλλων, X, Stephanus. — τυγχάνει: X. τυγχάνω, Aldus. τυγχάνει ὡν, R., B.

6. ἡς ἀν: T., cf. Bohlmann, *de attractionis usu*, p. 28. ἡς ἀν, X.

7. τοὺς καὶ: R. καὶ τοὺς, X.

8. ἐπόμενα: C, R. ἔχομενα, X. — τότε ἀφαιρεθεῖην: X. τοῦτο ἀφαιρεθεῖην, Rosenberg, Fr., W.; but cf. the passages quoted in the note, and Gebauer, *de Arg. ex contr. formis*, p. 112.

9. κατασταθεῖς: for the occurrence of this aor. pass., see Gebauer, App. to xii. 35 (larger edition), and Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, pp. 197, 588. In our passage, F. and Fr. think that it is employed to give a comical rhythmical effect, which they indicate by εἰ γάρ ἔγώ | κατασταθεῖς | χορηγός | τραγῳδοῖς. — προκαλεσαμένην: R. προσκαλεσαμην, X. — καὶ: X. εἴτη, C, B. κατοι, Cob., F., W. κάτα, Gebauer. — τύχοι τι: Emperius. τύχοι τις, X. — γενόμενον: X. γενόμενος, C, B. — δμολογεῖν ἀν ἐμὲ: inserted by Rn., F., Thalheim, after Kayser's δμολογεῖν ἀν, following εἴται. — καὶ ἔτι πονηρότερον: X, F., Fr. καὶ τι ἔτι πονηρότερον; S., Cob. καὶ ἔτι τι πονηρότερον; Sch.

10. ἔγώ γάρ οἶμαι: F., after C, which has πάντας οἶμαι, and so B., Turr., Thalheim. ἔγώ γάρ, X. ἔγνων γάρ, Sch. εἰκός γάρ, Kayser, Fr. — τοῦτο ζητεῖν: F. (see his *Animad. in Or. Att.* p. 37), Thalheim. τοιοῦτο ζητεῖν, X. τοιοῦτον τι ζητεῖν, Sch. τοιοῦτον βροτώνην τινὰ ζητεῖν, C., B., Turr. — ἔγώ, καὶ: X, Sch., W. ἔγώ ὡν καὶ, R. ἔγώ ὡν, Herw., F., Fr., Thalheim, but unnecessarily; see my note. — ἔξηντον: ἔξεντον, X. — τῶν ἀναγκαλῶν: this, according to Rademacher (*Jahrb. für Philol.* CLI, p. 241), is a spurca iocatio. He compares Xen. *Cyr.* i. 6. 36, and concludes that the cripple means that he uses a horse for all journeys longer than those εἰς τάναγκαῖα.

11. ἀναβάνω: in X follow the words ἥδιον ἔστι μαθεῖν, del. Sch.

12. τοῦτος ἀν: Kayser. τοῦτον, X. σωπᾶν ἀν, Sch. Yet the ἀν may be unnecessary if σωπᾶν represents such an impf. as ἐκέρδαινον in vii. 32; so Kocks. — δυνατός εἴμι: Kayser. δυνατός εἴη, X.

13. πάντας: X, vulg. As Suid. s.v. ἀνάπηρον has ἔπαντας, Fr. conjectured ἔπεισαντας and Rn. πεισθέντας. — θεσμοθέται: inserted by Fr. Om. X, Sch.

14. οὐδὲ' οὐτος . . . εἰ ποιῶν: I have indicated a lacuna, being unconvinced by any of the emendations proposed for εἰ ποιῶν of X. The words εἰ ποιῶν may

mean *happily, fortunately* (see Fr., Thalheim), or *and he is right* (cf. xxxii. 17, xxviii. 8); or some word like *φαίνεται* may be lost. At any rate, we need something to lead up to the following *γάρ*, which cannot refer back to § 13, as the train of thought is changed at § 14 with *ἄλλα γάρ*, 'enough of this nonsense, for —' (see on xi. 99). Jebb conjectures *οὐθ' οὐτος εὖλογα δοκεῖ τοιεῖν*, which seems to me too violent, though it is in the right direction. *εἴ τι φρονῶν, ἐάντις* *εἴ τι φρονῶν*, M. *οὐθ' ὑμίν οὐτος* (*οὐτος ὑμν*, R., Fr., Thalheim) *εἴ τοιῶν*, Contius. *εἴ τοιῶν*, S. — *κατικλήρους*: Stephanus. *ἐπὶ κλήρου*, X.

15. *λέγει*: C. *λέγω*, X. — *ὄνομάστει*: Rn. *ὄνομάσαι*, X. — *μελλων*: X. *μελλων δόξειν*, Herw., Cob., F. — *πραόντες, ταῦτα*: Kayser, F., Thalheim (Emperius had conjectured *πραόντως μηδὲν*). *πράον ως μηδὲ ψεύδηται ταῦτα*, X. *πραόντως, μηδὲ ψεύδηται, ταῦτα*, Sch.

16. *τοὺς πανομένους*: R. *πενομένους*, X.

17. *πρεσβυτέροις*: Fr. *έτεροις*, X. Sch.

18. *οὐς ἀν*: B. *οὐς ἔτιν*, X. — *ὑπάρχαντας*: Stephanus. *συνάρχαντας*, X.

20. *μυροπάλιον*: X; cf. Dem. xxv. 52, xxxiv. 13, and *ἀρτοπάλιον*, Ar. *Ran.* 112, *frag.* 1, Kock; also Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, p. 276. *μυροπαλεῖν*, C, Sch. In C, δ δὲ follows this word; in X, αι δὲ. — *δποι*: B. *δπη*, X. — *τέχη*: Stephanus (*τέχη*, Aldus). *τύχοι*, X. — *τοὺς ἐγγυάτω*: M. *ἐγγυάτω*, X. — *τοὺς πλειστον*: M. *οὐ πλειστον*, X. — *ἀμογεπόν*: Morgan; cf. Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 614. *ἀμοῦ γέ του*, edd. since Bekker, who emended *ἄλλου γέ του* of X.

21. *ντεῖρ*: X, edd. except F., Fr., Thalheim (who read *περι* without a note). — *δμοιως τούτη φαύλων*: X, Aldus, Sch., Fr.; cf. Blass, *Att. Ber.* I, p. 639. *φαύλων δμοιως τούτη*, Dobree, F., Thalheim, W.

22. *μηδ' οὐ*: vulg., where X has *μη δ' οὐ*. Fuhr notes that, if *μηδ' οὐ* is right, a lacuna must be supposed before it; see his App. to xix. 49. *μη τοινυ οὐ*, W. — *μόνον*: M. *μόνον*, X. — *ἀρχέν*: X. Om. Kayser, Fr., Thalheim, W., cf. *τῶν καλλίστων καὶ μεγίστων* in § 23; but *τῶν μεγίστων* has just been used in § 21 in a very different sense. Hence I think *ἀρχέν* necessary here.

23. *δειλαιότατος*: M. *δικαιότατος*, X. — *ἀπεστρεψμένος εἴην*: X. For *εἴην* here Hertlein read *ἢν*, and Fr. *εἰμι*, but see note, and cf. Gebauer, *de Arg. ex contr. formis*, p. 204. — *θεσθε*: B. *θέσθε*, X. — *τὴν ψῆφον*: Contius, T. *τὴν ψήφω*, X.

24. *φιλαπεχθήμων*: after this word F. sets *ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀν . . . δμοιως* (§ 25), and puts *ἄλλ' οὐ τοιαύταις . . . χρώμενος* after *βίαος*. But, as Thalheim remarks, the two questions are much alike, *ὑθριστής* = *φιλαπεχθήμων*, *βίαος* = *θρασύς*. And as the answer *οὐδ' ἀν φήσεις κτλ.* evidently refers to § 15, it belongs to the question *ἄλλ' θτι . . . βίαος*, which merely repeats the expression of § 15. — *βίον*: followed in X by *πρὸς τὰ τοιάντα*, del. Francken and later editors.

25. *ἄλλ' οὐδ' ἀν*: C. *οὐδ' ἀν*, X. — *Χαλκίδα*: Fr. and later editors. *Χαλκίδα τὴν ἐπ' Εύριπω*, X. — *ἀπάντων*: X, F., Sch. *περι αἰπάντων*, Dobree, Fr., W., thinking that *κινδυνεύειν* needed an adverbial modifier to correspond to *ἀδεῶς πολιτεύεσθαι*; but F. compares xxxi. 7. *ἐνδεής ἀπάντων*, R. *ἀπελθών*, Bäker,

Thalheim. A word or two may have been lost, but *ἀπάρτων* alone makes sense; see the note.

26. *ὅμοιων*: Contius, Cobet, Francken, recent editors. *ὅμοιως*, X, Sch. — *αὐτῆς*: corr. in X from *αὐτῶν*.

27. *περιγίγνεσθαι*: *περιγίγνεσθαι*, X.

XXXI.

1. *εἰς ὑμᾶς*: Cob. and later edd. *ὡς ὑμᾶς*, X, Sch. In his critical note to I. 10, Frohberger cites twelve other passages in Lysias (besides three in spurious orations) in which *ὡς* appears as a preposition (as, e.g., in § 13). But none are cases of this legal phrase. Still, from Lutz, *die Casus-Adverbien bei den attischen Rednern*, p. 8, it appears that Lysias was rather fond of using *ὡς* as a prep., and it may be the right reading here. — *εἰς τὸ βουλευτήριον*: B. *εἰς τὸ δικαστήριον*, X; cf. xxx. 34. Halbertsma and W. omit the words, but they are necessary for the sense; cf. [Lys.] xx. 1, 14, 17. — *βουλεύειν*: Fr. *συμβουλεύειν*, X, Sch., W. The latter word is used properly in Plat. *Apol.* 31 C, but not here.

2. *ἀποφανεῖν*: Cob. *ἀποφαίνειν*, X, Sch. — *τῷ δυνάσθαι*: the only causal usage of the articular inf. in Lysias. Birklein, *Entwickel. der subst. Infinit.* p. 60.

3. *ἔγω τε*: M. *ἔγωγε*, X. — *ὅμως δὲ*: M. *ὅμως*, X, Sch.

4. *περὶ αὐτὸν*: Lutz, *Präp.* p. 136, cites half a dozen other examples of this use of *περὶ*, but no other from Lysias. It is common in Plato and Plutarch. — *εἰσι λέγειν*: R. *εἰσι λέγω*, X. *εἰσι τῷ λέγω*, Sch. — *ἴμοθ μάνου*: Fr. *μάνον*, X. — *ὅτοῖς*: F. suggests *ὅτοῖς τις*, as the simple *ὅτοῖς* is not found elsewhere in Lysias. See his note.

5. *πρὸς τῷ εἶναι*: the earliest occurrence of *πρὸς* with the dat. of the art. infin., and the only one in Lysias. Birklein, *ibid.* p. 60. — *μετέχουσι*: X, edd. before B., W. *μετέχουσιν*, B. (after C?), F., Fr.

6. *δοτοὶ δὲ*: C, B. *οἱ δὲ*, Fr., W. *καὶ γὰρ οἱ*, Aldus, R., Sch. *καὶ γὰρ*, X. — *δᾶν*: Dryander, W.; cf. § 22. *ράδλως δᾶν*, Rn., F. *δᾶν*, X, Sch.

8. *κατὰ τοσοῦτον*: C, R., B. *κατὰ τοσοῦτο*, Fr.; but in Lysias the form in *τ* prevails even before consonants, Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 606. *κατὰ τοῦτο*, X, Sch. — *δαρέως*: see App. to XII. 92. *δατεος*, X. — *τάναντία*: C, B. *τὰ ἐναντία*, X.

9. *ἐνθένδε*: B. *ἐνθάδε*, X. — *μετεβάλλοντο*: W., F. *μετεβάλοντο*, X, vulg. — *κατεργασμένοις*: C, R., vulg. *κατεργασμένω*, X. — *οὐδὲ γὰρ*: W., F. *οὐδὲ*, X, vulg. — *παρέσχεν*: R., after *παρέσχε* of Stephanus. *παρασχεῖν*, X, Sch.

10. *καίτοις*: Sch. *καὶ γὰρ*, X. — *ὑμᾶς*: T. *ὑμᾶς*, X. — *μὴ ἔβουλόμεθα*: M. *μὴ βουλόμεθα*, X.

12. *ἥν ταλαιπωρεῖν*: T. *ἥ ταλαιπωρεῖ*, X. — *δρᾶτε*: Aldus. *δρᾶται*, X. — *λητουργεῖν*: F.; cf. Meisterhans, p. 28. *λειτουργεῖν*, X, vulg.

13. **ὅς οὖς τις**: S. οὖς εἰ, X. — **συγκατελθεῖν**: after this word, X has φή δὲ καὶ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς γενόμενος, which I have seen proposed for this place. καὶ ταῦτα, ὡς φησι, καὶ δοῦτος γενόμενος, C, B. φησι δὲ ταῦτα καὶ αὐτὸς παραγενόμενος, Sluiter, who took the words as a gloss referring to Lysias. οὐκοῦν μετ' οὐδετέρων ἀν βουλεύσειν δ τοιωτος γενόμενος, F., with Rn., who meant these words as a transition to εἰ μέντοι κτλ., not pretending that they were what Lysias wrote. φαίνεται δὲ κατὰ ταῦτα κακὸς γενόμενος, W.

15. **ἐπιγενομένην**: Herw. γενομένην, X, Sch. — **ληπτούργειν**: see App. to § 12.

16. **ἀποδεῖξε**: corr. by first hand from ἐπιδεῖξω in X. See App. to xvi. 3. — **ἐνθάδε**: Aldus. ένθα, X, om. C. — **Διέτριμον**: Fr. αὐτὸν Διέτριμον, X, Sch.

17. **ώφελήσαι, κερδανεῖ**: C, vulg. ὠφελήσαι, κερδανεῖ, X. ὠφελήσαι, κερδανεῖ, Aldus. Lysias has no sure case of the rare fut. opt. in an object clause; see Weber, *Entwickel. der Absichts-Sätze*, p. 164. — **δράμανες**: Aldus. δράμενος, X.

18. **πρεσβυτέροις**: Naber, Halbertsma. **πρεσβυτάροις**, X, Sch. — **τάναγκαῖα**: Dobree. **άναγκαια**, X, Sch. — **αὐτόν**: the dative seemed necessary to R., and W. amends to αὐτοῖς, both being changes to avoid the somewhat rare acc. with ἐπεξελθεῖν. But αὐτοῖς, as F. remarks, leaves the verb absolute. This might be supported by such a place as Xen. *Anab.* v. 2. 7, μάχονται γὰρ ἐπεξεληλυθότες καὶ ἡ ἀφοδος χαλεπή, but no change is required in view of Antiphon I. 11; II. a. 2; IV. γ. 6; Dem. *xxi.* 107, *xxxvii.* 59 (passages cited by Baiter and Sauppe); Eur. *Androm.* 735 (cited by Maetzner).

19. **τότε τὸ ἀφελόμενον**: R. τό τε, ἀφελόμενον, X. — **οἰκτίραντες**: W., F. οἰκτίραντες, X, Sch. See Meisterhans, p. 142.

20. **οἴδα**: Contius, T. ήδη, X. — **γιγνώσκειν**: B. γινώσκειν, X. — **οἱ οἰκεῖοι**: T., M. οἰκεῖοι, X. — **τοιάντα**: the explanation in the note is Rn.'s. But Fr. thought that something was missing after ἔστιν, as, e.g., τὰ περὶ τούτους αὐτῷ ησεβημένα. Heldmann set οἴδα μὲν . . . παρῆσον before τοιάντα. — **δίκαιον**: Emp. ίκανόν, X.

21. **ἀν**: see App. to xii. 34. — **ἀν ποιήσαντα**: Dobree, Cob. **ἀν ποιήσοντα**, X, Turr., Sch. **ποιήσοντα**, Dobree, Francken, Fr., W. In deference to the present prevailing opinion, I have not left *ἀν* with the fut. partic. in the text, though far from persuaded that it cannot stand here as well as in other passages in Attic prose with fut. indic., opt., and partic., as a survival of the usage actually found in Homer, even though its syntax is much disputed there. See Humphreys in *Amer. Jour. Phil.* III, p. 114; GMT. 197, 208, 216.

22. **μίκρον**: Emperius. **μηδέν**, X.

24. **δὲν**: B., om. X. — **ὡς ζῶται**: in xxx. 26 f. we have a question similar to τις ἀν δοκιμάσαιτε, followed by similar constructions, viz.: διὰ τι δέν τις αποψη-φίσαιτο τούτους; πιθερον ὡς . . . παραγενημένους; (ὡς causal and subjective) . . . δλλ' θτι . . . εἰσενήρχεται; (causal) . . . δλλ' ὡς, έὰν νῦν αὐτοῦ φεσησθε, αὐθις ἀποδώσει τὰς χάρας; Cf. Plat. *Gorg.* 509 E, δεῖ δύναμιν τινα καὶ τέχνην παρασκευάσασθαι, ὡς, έὰν μη μάθῃ αὐτὰ καὶ δοκήσῃ, δύκισθαι; where cf. οὐ γάρ ἀδικήσει just above. Weber, *ibid.* p. 163, classes our clause as final. Gildersleeve (*A. J. P.* VI, p. 57) says,

'One would have expected *ἄλλ' αἰς ἐσθμενον βελτίω*, but possibly some such notion as *ἄλλιζετε* (xiv. 2) was floating through the mind of the orator. A slight anacoluthon is preferable to Weber's harsh construction.' But the explanation given in the note, with the examples (cited by F.) just quoted and others in Krüger, seems to me satisfactory.—**τότε κακὸν**: C. *τότε ἀγαθὸν*, X.—**πᾶσι**: X, Rn., Fr. *τοῖς πράξαις*, Francken, W. But the emendation is as weak as the Ms. reading, for the gnome does not require application to a special person or a class. Herwerden suggested *φασι*, supposing that we have here a proverb, *ἄστερον τῶν ἔργων κτλ.* F. suggests *del.*

25. **τοῖς πονηροῖς**: *vir celeberrimus apud Taylorum.* *τοῖς πονηροῖς*, X.

26. **ναῦς**: F., *Animadversiones in Oratores Atticos*, p. 46, from the law quoted in the note; cf. Poll. viii. 52. *ναῦν*, X.—**δπως μὴ**: R. *δπως*, X.—**ἄλλ' δπως τυρῆσται**: lacking in X, inserted by Rn. after M.'s *ἄλλ' δπως τυμηθῆσται*. For the use of the fut. mid. as pass., see La Roche, *Beiträge zur Gr. Gram.* I, p. 227 ff.; Bl.-Kühn, *Gr.* II, p. 112.—**γ'**: Stephanus. *τ',* X.—**ταλαιπωρίας**: S., F., W. *ταλαιπωρίας*, Dobree, Sch. *ἀτυματος*, Kayser, Fr. *ἀπορίας*, X. But perhaps it would be best to omit, with Hundeck (*Quæst. Lys.* p. 6), the words *καὶ τῆς μεγίστης ἀπορίας* as due to a gloss on *τοῦ δουλεύειν*.—**ἀγονίζοιτο**: Rn., and it is now generally adopted as a *pis aller*, for the place is still in need of a better emendation, and *ἀγωνίσαιτο* (R.) would be the better tense. *ἐκκλησιάζεται*, X. *ἐκκλησιάζοιτο*, C.

28. **ποτε**: vulg. *τοτε*, X.

29. **κατὰ τὸ προσῆκον**: Rn. *οὐ κατὰ κτλ.*, X. But it was the duty of metics to do service in war; see note and Gilbert, *Antiq.* p. 178.—**ἀτιμά**: F. and Fr. seem to think that this refers only to the disgrace of rejection. But the term is strong (and repeated in *ἀτιμάζετε*, § 33), and is hardly, if ever, used in the orators except in the technical sense. Meier and Schoemann, p. 245 f., quoting this passage with Dem. xxv. 30, and believing that Harp. s.v. *παλιναρέτος* does not prove conclusively that a rejected candidate could stand again (the view of Fr.), hold that, in certain cases of *ἀποδοκιμασία*, disability to hold office followed. But they admit (p. 1028) that Tharamenes was chosen ambassador only a year after he failed to pass the *δοκιμαστα* for *στρατηγύς* (*Lys.* xiii. 10).

30. **δι' ἦ τι ποτὲ**: Sch. *διότι ποτὲ*, B. *διότι ποτε*, X, Aldus.—**γεγενημένους**: Gebauer, F. *γεγονένους*, X, Sch., Fr., W. *γενομένους*, R.—**παρεδείχθη**: Rn. *ἐδείχθη*, X. *κατεδείχθη*, Fr., Gebauer.

31. **πατρός**: van der Es, Fr., W. *πατρόνος*, X, Sch.—**καὶ οὗτω νῦν**: so I have emended, after Gebauer's (*de arg. ex contr. formis*, p. 31) *πρότερον καὶ τῶν κατεργασμένων οὕτω νῦν τιμηθῆναι*. For a similar, though not exactly the same usage, cf. δμως δὲ *φαλεραι καὶ οὕτως ἐνδεεστέρα*, Thuc. i. 10. 3. *καὶ οὕτω συντιμηθῆναι*, X, where the *συν-* is inconsistent with *πρότερον*. *καὶ οὗτωσι γε τιμηθῆναι*, R. *καὶ αὐτῶν κινδυνευσάτων*, Rn., F. *αὐτῷ σωτήρια τιμηθῆναι*, W.—*εἰ οὗτος κτλ.*: on the varying uses of the negatives in this sort of co-ordination after verbs of

wonder, *etc.*, *cf.* Morris on Thuc. i. 121. 5; F. on Lysias xxx. 32; Fr. on our passage; Kühn. *Gr.* § 513, 5; and Goodwin, cited in my note. Our passage is the only one known to me in which the negatives in the two clauses are of different sorts. For a large collection of these sentences, see Gebauer, *de arg. ex contr. formis*, p. 154 ff.

32. *ἡδύνευτο*: see App. to XII. 99.—*βουλεύεσθαι*: C, B., Turr., Sch. *βούλεσθαι*, X (μούλεσθαι acc. to W.). *ἀγωνίζεσθαι*, Fr., F. *διαμάχεσθαι*, W. — *ἄλλων γε*: Stephanus. *ἄλλων τ',* X (acc. to W.). *ἄλλων*, C. *ἄλλων τῶν*, W.

33. *ἀτιμάζει*: X, vulg. *ἀτιμάσετε*, Fr., F., W. — *διαμαχούμενος*: M. *διαμαχόμενος*, X.

34. *ἰκανά μοι*: R. (*cf.* XII. 79). *ἰκανὰ μέν*, X. — *καίτοι*: X, Sch., Turr. *καίπερ*, Fr., F., W. The use of *καίτοι* with the partic. is very rare in Attic, yet see Ar. *Eccl.* 159, Xen. *Mem.* i. 7. 2, Plat. *Rep.* 511 D; *cf.* also Simon. ap. Plat. *Prot.* 339 C. In late authors it is common; *cf.* Strabo, pp. 37, 70, 812; Plut. *Pericles*, 13; Arrian, *Anab.* i. 5. 7; iii. 26. 2; iv. 21. 4; vii. 6. 2, 16. 3, 20. 8; Luc. *Nigr.* 8; 20; *Tim.* 34; *Alex.* 3; *de Salt.* 64; 79; *Hist. Conscr.* 40; 57; *V.H.* i. 28. The usage is natural enough and emendation seems unnecessary.—*τούτων αὐτῶν*: R. *τούτων αὐτῶν*, X. — *ὅτες αὐτῷ*: Aldus. *ὅτες αὐτῷ*, X. — *καὶνα*: anon. apud T. *κοινὰ*, X.

XXXII.

This speech is not found in the MSS. of Lysias. It is preserved (see p. 155) in Dion. H. *De Lysia iudicium* (Reiske, V, p. 497 ff.). The best manuscripts are M = cod. Ambrosianus D 119, of the fifteenth century, and F = cod. Laurentianus or Florentinus 59, 15, of the twelfth century. I have used L. Sadée's collation of them, in his dissertation *De Dionysii Hal. scriptis rhetorics*, Argentorati, 1878, p. 112 ff., employing also Desrousseaux's edition of Dionysius, *Jugement sur Lysias*, Paris, 1890, and on the MSS. in general, Usener in the *Jahrb. für Phil.* CVII, p. 145, and his *De Dion. Hal. libris manuscriptis*, Index Schol. Bonn, 1878; also for §§ 1-4 the scholia (Pl.) of Maximus Planudes to Hermogenes (in Walz, *Rhet. Graec.*, p. 546 f.), which are found, too, in cod. S (Par. 1983) of Bekker. For the inferior MSS. I have relied mainly upon the apparatus of Desrousseaux. They are T (of Bekker, called D by Desrousseaux) = cod. Par. 2944, and C = cod. Par. 2131, both belonging to the family of F; also P = cod. Pal. 58, B = cod. Par. 1742, and A = cod. Par. 1657 (copied from P and hence rarely cited), all three belonging to the family of M. In the following notes I have not used the abbreviations M., T., B., F., and S., to denote the scholars mentioned on p. 178, but have printed their names in full to avoid

confusion with the signs used here for the MSS. The critical notes in the editions of Fuhr, Weidner and Frohberger (revised by Thalheim) have been of great use. Unless the contrary is noted, my text of the oration itself agrees with the text of Fuhr. I have, however, quoted more at length from the remarks of Dionysius himself than is usual in editing this oration.

ON THE TEXT OF DIONYSIUS. ἔγγένηται: Sadée. γένηται, codd., vulg. — ποιήσομαι: TC. ποιῶμαι, cett. codd. — τι ἔντα: Sadée. τίνα, codd., vulg. — ἐπιδέξομαι: A, Sadée. ἐπιδέξομεν, cett. codd., vulg. — οἰόμενος: MPBF, Sadée. οἴμενος, TC, vulg. — Γλαυκίππου: γλαυσίππου, TC. — παιδίων: παιδῶν, MPB. — μητρός: μητρός, TC. — ἴν: om. F. — αὐτοῖς: αὐτὸς, TC. — κατ' αὐτοῖς: Stephanus. καὶ αὐτοῦ, codd. — προσβαλον: PB, Desrousseaux. Cf. Polyb. iii. 113. 6. προσβαλον, cett. codd., vulg. — τῇ: Desrousseaux after Rademacher. Om. codd., vulg.

1. τὰ διαφέροντα, ἀ: codd., W. δικασταὶ, τὰ διαφέροντα, S, Pl., vulg., Fr., Thalheim. — εἰδὼς τε: Pl., S. εἰδὼς, codd., which may possibly stand, cf. xxi. 11. — πεπονθότες: F, Pl. παθόντες, M.

2. τὴν τούτων: Desrousseaux, cf. § 5 and hypothesis. τούτων, codd., edd. — τοὺς φίλους: Sylburg, R., Thalheim, W. αὐτὸς τοῦ φίλους, Pl., S., Fr., Fuhr. τοὺς φίλους, MF. — διαιταν: S. τὴν διαιταν, Pl. διαιτᾶν, MF. Aldus and Desrousseaux give with MF τοὺς φίλους ἐπιτρέψαι διαιτᾶν, the latter comparing the inf. with ἐπιτρέπω in Lys. xiii. 15, Xen. *Anab.* vii. 7. 8 (add And. i. 21, [Dem.] xl. 16, Isaeus, ii. 29, Plat. *Apol.* 35 D); but the construction of τοὺς φίλους would be obscure to the ear after ἔπεισα, and this same error of διαιτᾶν for διαιταν occurs in cod. F 1 in Dionys. *De Isaeo iudic.*, p. 602, 13 R., and in a fragment of Lys. 16.2 Sch. — τούτων: F, Pl., vulg. τούτου, M, Desrousseaux. — ἐπειδὴ: Pl., Fuhr, W. ἐπει, codd., vulg. But on ἐπει in this sense, see Fuhr's critical note, and cf. App. to §§ 8 and 25, and to xii. 11, xxiii. 14. — Διογέτεων: codd. ὁ Διογέτων, Pl., vulg. — ἐξηλέγκετο: Pl., vulg. ἐξηλέγκτο, codd., Aldus, R. ἐξεληλέγκτο, conjecture of Fuhr. — ἰβουλήθη: MS, vulg., cf. Meisterhans, p. 134. ἰβουλήθη, F, Pl., R., Aldus, Fuhr (9th ed.; but see his critical note to xiii. 6, 10th ed.). — ὑπομένειν: Fuhr, after καθυπομένειν, S, and as the probable reading of the first hand of F; see G. 1272 and App. to xvi. 6. ὑπομένειν, M., vulg., ει and αι of this word in rasura, F. καὶ ὑπομένειν . . . μᾶλλον, add. in marg., F.

ON DIONYSIUS. ἀρέτας: om. TC. — ἥ: om. MPBF. — δ: om TC. — φανήσονται: φανήσωνται, F. — κελεύσοντί: κελεύσουσιν, M. — τάδικήματα: Markland. διδικήματα, codd. — τοῦδε: om. MPB. — λέγεσθαι: γενέσθαι, F. — εὐθὺς: Sylburg. καὶ εὐθὺς, codd. — δὴ: δὲ, TC, vulg. — προσεκτικὸς: προτρεπτικός, TC. — πρόστεστι: van der Vliet, Desrousseaux. προσέτι, codd., vulg. — ὑπὲρ ἐκείνων: MPB, Desrousseaux after Sadée. ὑπεκείνων, cett. codd., vulg.

4. Διογείτων λαβεῖν: FM. λαβεῖν Διογείτων, Pl., S, Bekker, Fr., W. — νέτ: Morgan. *νέοι*, codd., vulg., a form impossible for Lysias; see App. to xii. 34. The dual *νέται* occurs in cod. X of xix. 46 (omitted by Keck, *Ueber den Dual*) where we should read *νέται*. It is true that with *δύο* we generally find a plural (Keck, p. 42 ff.), but the dual occurs in *frag. 4* Sch., and the change to *νέται* is easier than to *νέται*. *νέοι*, Fuhr. *νέται*, W. *νέται*, Thalheim.

5. τῶν δπλιτῶν: FM. See Meier and Schöm., *Att. Process*, p. 120. τοῦ ἐπὶ τῶν ὀπλιτῶν, T, R, Bekker, Sch., but Desrousseaux cites Hauvette-Besnoult, *Les Stratèges Athéniens*, p. 150. — τὸν: FM.; om. T, cf. on § 2. — ἀδελφόν: the codd. add *δμοτάτρων* (so vulg.), which was struck out by Herw. (so Fuhr, W., Fr., Thalheim) on the ground that Lysias would have added *καὶ δμομήτρων*, hence that it was a mere late interpolation from § 4. — ἀνεγκαύδητας: MF. ἀνάγκας, T, Bekker, Sch., Fr. *ολεύθητας*, W. — δικαίῳ περὶ τοὺς αὐτοῦ: Sauppe (cf. § 23) and recent editors. *καὶ ὥσπερ τοῦ αὐτοῦ*, FMPB. ἔτέρῳ εἰς τοὺς (τὰς T) αὐτοῦ παιδας ἐπιτρόπῳ, TC., Bekker. The word *ἐπιτρόπῳ*, printed by Sauppe and Sch., is not necessary; cf. § 23 (Herw., Fr.).

6. ναυτικά: T, Markland, edd. *αβρίκα*, cett. codd., Aldus. — μάς, ... δισχιλίας: something seems lost here, as noted by Sauppe, who would supply ἔγγειον δὲ δισχιλίας δραχμὰς δεδανεισμένας. Cf. § 15. Fuhr's suggestion, ἐκατὸν δ' ἔγγειῳ ἐπὶ τύκῳ δεδανεισμένας, cf. § 15, is better. — Χερονήσῳ: Χερονήσῳ, F. — δοῦναι: this word may be interpolated, cf. Markland's and Frohberger's note. Fuhr cites in support Isaeus, II. 9, but see Thalheim's note. — κατέλιπε δὲ: R. κατέλιπε, F. κατέλιπεν, M.

7. ἔκρυπτε: ἔκρυπτεν, M. — ἀνδρός: after this word a lacuna is noted by Fuhr, since μὲν has nothing to answer it. Thalheim suggests the loss of τὰ δ' ἀντίγραφα. — τῶν: in F inserted by F1.

8. ἐπεδὴ: Fuhr; see App. to § 2. ἐπει, codd. — χρόνῳ: FM. τῷ χρόνῳ, TC., Bekker, Sch. — ἐν: superscribed in F1. — κατελειπόντο: καταλέλειπτο, MF. — ἐπιλειπόντων: R. ὑπολειπόντων, codd. — αὐτῆς: codd. αὐτῆς, Sylburg, Sch., W., but, as Thalheim notes, Diodotus had not given the money to the woman; cf. § 6.

9. εἶπε: F. εἶπεν, M. — καταλίποι: Stephanus. καταλείποι, codd. — διέφερεν: Rn. after διέφερε, Aldus, vulg. διέφερον, codd.

10. κλάοντες: Cob., Herw., see Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* I, p. 133. κλαοντες, codd. — περιδεῖν: ὑπεριδεῖν, F1 pr., corr. — ἀποστρηθέντας: ἀποστρηθεντας, F. — οὐνεκα: Dobson. οὐνεκα, codd., but see App. to xxii. 3, and Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, p. 251.

11. ἡγεμόνει: Cob., Fr., W. See App. to xii. 73. ἡγεμόλει, codd. — ικέτευσε: T, edd. ικέτευσε, FM. — εἰ καὶ μὴ πρότερον: F, W., Thalheim. εἰ καὶ πρότερον μὴ, TC., vulg. εἰ μὴ καὶ πρότερον, MAB.

12. Ἡγήμονα: TC, edd. ἡγεμόνα, cett. codd. — εἰς: εἰ, M. — ιναι: TC, edd. εἰναι, cett. codd. — πραγμάτων: codd., vulg. χρημάτων, Halbertsma, Fuhr, Thalheim, W.; attractive but unnecessary. — ἄπο: TC, edd. ἄπο, cett. codd.

13. *τοὺς θεοὺς*: codd. *τοὺς γε θεοὺς*, Herw., W., Fuhr. — *ἔξιπλαι*: Taylor. *ἔξιπτε*, codd. — *παρ' αὐτοῦ παρακαταθήκην*: *παρ' αὐτοῦ καταθήκην*, TC. — *Θέλω*: Rn. *θέλω*, codd. — *τοὺς ὑστερὸν*: *καὶ ὑστερὸν*, TC. — *οὐτὸς λέγη*: MFAPB, Fuhr, W., Thalheim. *αὐτὸς λέγης*, TC, vulg. — *ἐκλιπεῖν*: Sch. *καταλιπεῖν*, codd.

14. *αὐτὸν*: TC, edd. *αὐτὴν*, F 2, M. *αὐτὴν*, F 1. — *κεκομισμένον*: F 2. *κεκομημένον*, F 1, T. *κεκομισμένον*, M. — *ναυτικὰ*: Markland. *αὐτίκα*, codd., Aldus. — *διουκίσει*: Matthaei. *διουκήσει*, codd. — *διφύλιστο*: *διουκίστο*, M. For this and *διουκίσει*, Cobet, *Var. Lect.* p. 68, would read *ἔξφυλιστο* and *ἔξουκίσει*. — *Κολλυτοῦ*: Turr., cf. Meisterhans, p. 73. *Κολλυτοῦ*, codd. — *τῷ*: TC, acc. to Desrousseaux, but T has *τῷ* acc. to Bekker; the other codd. omit the word and so Aldus and R. Modern editors vary between *τῷ* (Sch., Fuhr, Fr., W.) and *τῷ* (Bekker, Turr.). Either might stand, as Fr. remarks, the former from the point of view of the mother, the latter from that of the boys. — *αὐτὴν*: R. *ταύτην*, codd.

15. *κεκομισμένον*: *κεκομισμένον*, F 1. — *ἔγγειρ*: Naber. *ἔγγειος*, MPBF. *ἔγγειον*, TC.

16. *ἴκβαλεν*: TC, Bekker, Sch. *ἴκβάλλειν*, FPB, Fuhr, Fr., W., Thalheim, *λλ* in *rasura* M. But on the distinction in the tenses of the inf. in Lysias see App. to § 2 and xvi. 6. — *ἡγέωκας*: codd., vulg., Turr. *ἡγίωσας*, Pluygers, Fuhr, Fr., W. — *αὐτῶν*: PB. *αὐτῶν*, cett. codd. — *οὐ μετὰ ἀκολοθθού*: om. TC., add. in marg. M 1. — *τῶν*: om. FTC. — *δ*: om. MPBF. — *κατεύπεν*: *κατεύπτε*, F.

17. *ἀτίκους*: *ἀτίμως*, TC. — *προθυμαῖ*: Herw., Cob., and so *φοβεῖ*, *αἰσχύνει*, *ποιεῖ* below. *προθυμῆ*, codd., vulg. — *φοβεῖ*: *φοβῆ*, codd. — *τὴν συνειδύναν*: MPBF. *τὴν σὴν θυγατέρα τὴν συνειδύναν*, TC. — *αἰσχύνει*: *αἰσχύνη*, codd. — *ποιεῖ*: *ποιεῖς*, MPBF. *ποιῆ*, TC.

18. *πάντες*: om. TC. — *πιστεύσαι*: *πιστεύσαι τινα*, TC. — *μὴ ήττον*: MPBF, Fuhr, Thalheim, cf. *οὐχ ήττον*, § 21, though *μηδὲν ήττον*, TC, vulg., Fr., W., is commoner.

19. *ἔξιω*: Rn. added *ὑμᾶς* after *τοῖνυν* (cf. I. 36, IV. 12), unnecessarily; cf. XIV. 20, 22, XVII. 10, cited by Fuhr, who conjectures *ἔξιων* without *ὑμᾶς*. But the occurrence of this in a different gender just below would then be awkward. — *θλεῖσητε*: θλεῖστε, M. — *τοσαύτην γὰρ*: *τοσαύτην δ'*, TC. — *πρὸς ἀλλήλους*: MPB, Fuhr, W., Fr. *εἰς ἀλλήλους*, F, vulg., which may be defended (cf. And. I. 68, Thuc. IV. 27. 3, and see Lutz, *Präd.* pp. 11, 17), though *πρός* is commoner (cf. XXV. 30), and *εἰς* may here be a mere repetition from the foregoing. The words are omitted in TC. — *μῆτε ... μῆτε*: Bekker and modern edd. *μηδὲ ... μηδὲ*, codd.

20. *τὰ μὲν*: this is in F 1 corr. from *τῶν μὲν* which might stand. — *ἔχειν*: R. *ἔλειν*, codd. *ἔλθειν*, Aldus. — *λημμα*: Aldus. *λῆμα*, codd. — *τετρακισχιλίας*: Herw., Van der Es; cf. §§ 14, 28. *ἔπτακισχιλίας*, codd., Sch. — *δποι*: Dobree. *δπον*, codd. — *τρέψις*: Dobree, Contius. *στρέψεις*, codd., except *στρέψειν*, F, whence Fuhr *τρέψειν*. — *καὶ εἰς ιμάτια*: inserted by Fr., so Fuhr, W. *εἰς γυαφεῖον* (γυαφίον M) *ιμάτια*, codd., Ald. *ιμάτια* is omitted by R., Bekker, Sch.,

though Scaliger conjectured *eis γναφεῖαν καὶ eis ιμάτια*, and Markland *γναφεῖον ιμάτια τε*. Desrousseaux reads *ὑποδήματα δὲ καὶ ιμάτια*. — **κουρέως**: FMPB, Fuhr, W., Thalheim. *κουρέον*, TC, whence *κουρέον*, vulg. — **κατὰ μῆνα**: in TC these words follow *αὐτῷ*, so the older edd. and Fr. — **πλέιν**: Rn. and later edd.; the Attic form, see App. to vii. 6. *πλέιν*, codd., vulg.

21. **αὐτῷ τίθηστ, τὸ δὲ τούτους λελόγισται**: R. *αὐτῶν τίθησι τούτους λελγισθαι* (*λελογισθαι*, M), codd. — **ἐφ' ὁ**: Sylburg. *ἐφ' ὡν*, codd. — **ὡ ἄνδρες**: codd.; cf. Rockel, *de allocutionis usu*, pp. 18, 21. Fuhr added *δικασται* after a marginal note in M.

22. **πλέιν**: Rn. and later edd., cf. § 20. *πλέιν*, codd., vulg. — **πρὸς τὸ κεφάλαιον**: Lutz (*Präp.* p. 174) follows here the old explanation of *summatis recensere*, but then the preposition should be *ἐν* or *ἐπί* (pp. 38, 104). The usage seems to resemble rather that of relation (cf. *Plat. Theaet.* 186 A), not that of manner; cf. Isaeus, vi. 45 (quoted by Fr.), Lutz, p. 173. — **παιδίων**: MPBF. *παῖδων*, TC. — **καταλειφθεῖς**: *καταληφθεῖς*, FC; — *τὸν χρημάτων*: MPBF. *χρημάτων*, TC. — **τῷ δέ ἐπιτρόπῳ**: Fr. and later editors. *τῷ δέ ἐπί* (*ἐπι*, F), FM. *τὸν δέ ἐπι*, T. *τὸν δέ ἐπει*, C1. *τῷ δέ ἐπει*, C2. After *πατρών* TC have *εἰσιν*, and the vulg. before Fr. was *τῷ δέ ἐπει τῶν πατρών εἰσιν ἀπεστηρημένοι*.

23. **ἔβούλετο**: edd. *ήβούλετο*, codd., Fuhr; but see App. to § 2. — **ἀπηλλαγμένον**: Dobree, Fuhr, W., Thalheim. *ἀπηλλαγμένοι*, FMPB. *ἀπηλλαγμένος*, TC, Fr., Sch. — **πριάμενον**: FMPB, Fuhr, W., Thalheim. *πριάμενος*, TC, Fr., Sch. — **ὅπτερα**: FMPB, Fuhr; cf. Isaeus, i. 22. *ὅπτερον*, TC, edd. — **κατάστησον**: TC, edd. *καταστήσονται*, FMPB.

24. **ὡ δικασται**: codd., vulg. *ὡ ἄνδρες δικασται*, Herw., Fuhr, Fr., W. So in §§ 26, 28, xix. 34. But see Rockel, *ibid.* p. 21. — **Ἀλέξιος**: *ἀλεξίδη*, F. — **δεοντας**: Aldus. *δέονταν*, codd. — **συμβαλέονται**: Aldus. *συμβάλλεονται*, codd. — **τούτους**: Dobree, Fr., Fuhr. *τούτων*, MPB. *τούτων τοῖς*, FTC, Aldus, Bekker, Turr. *τούτων τούτους*, R., W. *αὐτοῖς*, Sch., Rn. — **θυγατριδῶν**: FMPB. *θυγατριδῶν αὐτοῦ*, TC, Bekker. *αὐτοῦ θυγατριδῶν*, cod. Guelf., Fr., Sch. — **ληιτουργιῶν**: Fuhr, Thalheim. *λειτουργιῶν*, codd., edd.; but see Meisterhans, p. 29, and App. to vii. 31.

25. **τὸν Ἀδρίαν**: TC. *τὴν ἀνδρίαν*, MPBF 1. *τὴν ἀ-δρίαν*, F corr. — **ἀπίστελλεν**: *ἐπέστελλεν*, F. — **ἐπειδὴ δὲ**: Rn., W., Fr. *ἐπειδὴ δὲ*, codd., vulg. — **αὐτοῦ**: F 2. *αὐτοῦ*, cett. codd. — **φάσκει**: Rademacher, Desrousseaux. *φάσκων*, MPBF, whence Fuhr conjectured with likelihood that something like *αὐτὸς τὴν ὠφέλειαν έλαβε* had fallen out before *αὐτοῦ*. *ἔφασκεν*, TC, edd. — **δποι μὲν**: MPBF, Sch., Turr., and later edd. *δπη μὲν*, C, Aldus. *δπη μὴ*, T. *δπη δὲ μὴ*, R. *δπη μὲν*, Bekker.

26. **ὡ δικασται**: see on § 24. — **ἔργον εἴη**: MPB, Fuhr, W. *εἴη ἔργον*, FTC, vulg. — **δὲ**: om. M. — **τὸν Ἀλέξιος**: MPBF, Sch., and recent editors. *τοῦ Αλέξιος*, TC. — **ἐτέγχανε**: *ἐτέγχανεν*, M. — **δ τῆς**: Herw., Fr., Fuhr, W. *τῆς*, codd., vulg. — **ηύρομεν**: Desrousseaux; cf. Meisterhans, p. 136; Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* II, p. 11. — **τέτταρας**: MPBF. *τετταράκοντα*, TC.

27. ἐπέδειξι: codd., vulg. *ἐπέδειξε*, Pluygers, Fr., and later edd., but see App. to xvi. 3. — δεούσας: δέοντας, TC, *cf.* § 24. — ἀνηλακέναι: codd., edd. Fuhr conjectures *ἀνηλαμένας* on account of the rarity of the infin. in this construction, but though rare it occurs with verbs of this general meaning of *showing*; see Kühn, § 484, 15; GMT. 915, 5. — ἀστεῖ: F. *ώς γε*, cett. codd. — δευτερεῖ: δεορ δτερ, TC. — οἰεσθεῖ: οἰεσθαι, FTC. — οἴδεις αἴτρι: MPB, Rn., Thalheim. *αἴτρι* οὐδεῖς, FTC, vulg. — διεχείρισεν: codd., edd., except Fuhr, who has διεχείρισεν. — μνᾶς: μνᾶς, TC. — ΜΑΡΤΤΡΕΣ: om. in codd., except in margin of T.

28. ὁ δικαιοσταῖ: see on § 24. — ἔχειν αἴτρις: MPBF, recent edd. *αἴτρις ἔχειν*, TC, vulg. — αἴτρι: MPBF, Fuhr, W. *αἴτων*, TC, vulg. — ἐκάστου: ἐκάστω, M.

29. ἔτεοις αὐται: MPB, Aldus, Stephanus, R., Desrousseaux. *αὐταις ἔτεοις*, TC, cett. edd. *αὐταις ἔτεοις*, F. — γίγνονται: MPB. *γίγνονται*, cett. codd. — καὶ ἀποδείκνυνται: TC, omitted in other codd. For convenience I follow the vulgate in the insertion of these words, though agreeing with Fuhr that the lacuna more probably contained something like the thought in Dem. xxvii. 37. — περιόντα: the words *τῶν ἐπτὰ ταλάντων* follow *περιόντα* in all codd. and all edd. except Westermann's and Thalheim's, who strike them out after Markland. If they are kept we should insert *τῶν τερραπόκορτα μνῶν* after Markland; so Sch., Fuhr. — ληστῶν: *τῶν ληστῶν*, TC.

III.—ATTIC MONEY.

TABLE.

1 obol	= about	\$0.03
6 obols	= 1 drachma	= " \$0.18
100 drachmae	= 1 mina	= " \$18.00
60 minae	= 1 talent	= " \$1080.00

Attic coins were made of silver.¹ In calculating their values, one may conveniently begin with the drachma. This contained 4.366 grams or 67.376 grains of pure silver. In one United States silver dollar there are 371.25 grains of pure silver, so that the grain has the legal value of .269 + cents. The drachma, therefore, estimated in U.S. silver money at its legal value (in the ratio to gold of 1:16), would be worth a fraction over 18 cents. On this basis the above table is calculated. In English money the drachma may be estimated at about 9 pence; in French, at about a franc.

¹ The chalcus, a copper coin of the value of $\frac{1}{6}$ of an obol, was introduced just before the Peloponnesian War and got into common use. There were probably even smaller denominations in copper after that time.

The talent and the mina were not coins but weights. When used of money, the term talent signifies, for the time of Lysias, the equivalent of 57.75 lbs. of silver (avoirdupois weight), and it was worth 6000 drachmae. The actual Attic coins in use were the drachma and its multiples (the commonest being the four-drachma piece), and the obol with its multiples (such as the three-obol piece) and fractions (the $\frac{1}{2}$ and $\frac{1}{4}$ obol).

Two other coins are mentioned in the selections from Lysias contained in this volume,—the daric and the Cyzicene stater.² The daric was a Persian gold coin of great purity. It contained about 125.5 grains of gold, and was therefore equivalent to about \$5.40 in American gold (one dollar containing 23.22 grains). It passed current among Athenians as the equivalent of 20 Attic drachmae. The Cyzicene stater was a coin of the town of Cyzicus. It was made of electrum, a mixture of gold and silver, and it passed current as the equivalent of 28 Attic drachmae.

Reckoned by the above figures, the sum of which Lysias was robbed by the Thirty,³—3 silver talents, 400 Cyzicene staters, and 100 darics,—amounted to the equivalent of \$5616 (taking the Cyzicene stater at 28 drachmae and the daric at 20 drachmae). This seems small, as the bulk of a man's fortune, but the value of money may best be appreciated by a consideration of what may be bought with it. From the Thirty-second oration⁴ it appears that a liberal allowance for the support of two boys, their sister, a $\pi\alpha\delta\alpha\gamma\omega\gamma\beta\delta$, and a maid-servant was 1000 drachmae (\$180) a year, or a little less than 3 drachmae (54 cents) a day. This means that these five persons could have been supported on the annual income of the equivalent of \$3000 at 6 per cent. That this sum was generous for the purpose is clear enough from what the orator says in that passage, and his estimate is supported by other passages in the authors. Thus, even later, when prices were higher, Demosthenes (during his minority), together with his mother and sister and their necessary slaves, had an annual allowance of 7 minae⁵ (\$126), together with the house in which they lived. Boeckh calculated⁶ that in the time of Socrates a family of four grown persons could have lived comfortably on about five-sevenths of this sum.

² Cf. XII. 11, XXXII. 6.

³ Cf. XII. 11.

⁴ § 28.

⁵ Cf. Dem. XXVII. 36.

⁶ See *Staatsh.* p. 142 ff. For prices of houses, slaves, food-stuffs, clothing, etc., see the same work, p. 82 ff.

IV.—CHRONOLOGY.

B.C. 459. Birth of Lysias.¹
 456. Death of Aeschylus.
 455. Euripides appears as a tragic poet.
 449. Death of Cimon. Predominance of Pericles begins.
 445. Thirty years' truce.
 444. Foundation of Thurii. Herodotus and Lysias (later?) among the colonists.²
 436. Birth of Isocrates.
 434. The Parthenon finished.
 431. The Peloponnesian War begins.
 429. Death of Pericles.
 428. Siege of Plataea.³
 427. Fall of Plataea.
 Gorgias in Athens.⁴
 Birth of Plato.
 421. Peace of Nicias.
 418. Tisias in Athens.⁵
 415. Sicilian expedition sails.
 413. Athenian defeat in Sicily.
 412. Revolution in Thurii. Lysias banished.⁶
 411. Lysias in Athens again.
 Establishment and overthrow of the Four Hundred.
 Death of Antiphon.⁷
 409. Thrasyllus defeated at Ephesus.⁸
 406. Arginusae. Condemnation of the generals.
 Dionysius becomes master of Syracuse.⁹
 Deaths of Euripides and Sophocles.
 405. About August: Aegos Potami.
 Late autumn or in winter: Siege of Athens begins.
 404. Embassies to the Spartans.¹⁰

¹ The traditional date; but see Introd. § 15.

² See Introd. § 16.

³ See p. 105, note 10.

⁴ See Introd. § 12.

⁵ See Introd. note 42.

⁶ See Introd. § 17.

⁷ See Introd. § 14, and on xii. 65; cf. 67. ⁸ See p. 156, note 43.

⁹ See Introd. § 23.

¹⁰ See on xii. 69 ff. In arranging the order of the events of this and the next year I have chiefly followed Boerner; see above, p. 25, note 5. According to the common view the Thirty were in power for eight instead of three months, and the death of Theramenes and the occupation of Phyle by Thrasybulus happened early in the year 403.

B.C. 404. April : ἡ περὶ εἰρήνης ἐκκλησία.¹¹
 Surrender of Athens. Return of the exiles.¹²
 Lysander returns to Samos, reduces it, and comes back to Athens.¹³
 About September : ἡ περὶ πολιτείας ἐκκλησία.¹⁴ The Thirty established.
 Lysias in exile.
 Death of Theramenes.
 Winter : Thrasybulus occupies Phyle.
 Disarming of οἱ ξεῖνοι τοῦ καταλόγου.¹⁵
 Slaughter at Eleusis.¹⁶
 Thrasybulus occupies Munychia. Death of Critias.
 The Thirty expelled. The First Ten.¹⁷
 403. First Ten's government.¹⁸
 Spring : Second Ten.¹⁹
 Pausanias in Athens.
 The reconciliation.
 Early Autumn : Return of the Patriots.²⁰
 Citizenship given to Lysias and others and withdrawn.
 Lysias *Against Erasthenes*.²¹
 Lysias Or. xxxiv.²²
 401. Expedition of Cyrus (the *Anabasis*).
 Overthrow of the Thirty in Eleusis.²³
 Lysias Or. xxxii ?²⁴
 399. Return of the Ten Thousand Greeks.
 Death of Socrates.
 398. Lysias Or. xxxi ?²⁵
 395. Corinthian War. Haliartus.²⁶ Death of Lysander.
 Lysias Or. vii ?²⁷
 394. Battle of Nemea.²⁸
 Agesilaus (accompanied by Xenophon) returns to Greece.²⁹
 Xenophon exiled.
 390. Death of Thrasybulus.
 389. Birth of Aeschines.
 387. Peace of Antalcidas.³⁰

¹¹ See on XII. 70.

¹² See *ibid.*

¹³ See on XII. 71.

²¹ See p. 26 f. ²² See Introd. § 39.

²³ See p. 27, note 19.

¹⁴ See on XII. 70.

²⁴ See p. 156.

¹⁵ See on XII. 40.

²⁵ See p. 135.

¹⁶ See on XII. 52.

²⁶ See on XVI. 13.

¹⁷ See p. 26.

²⁷ See p. 6.

¹⁸ See p. 26.

²⁸ See on XVI. 15.

¹⁹ See App. to XII. 60.

²⁹ See on XVI. 16.

²⁰ See p. 27.

³⁰ See p. 93.

b.c. 384. Birth of Aristotle.
383. Birth of Demosthenes.
380. Last known work of Lysias.³¹
378. Traditional date of the death of Lysias.³²

³¹ See Introd. § 24.

³² See *ibid.*

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS OF BOOKS OF REFERENCE.

Blass, *Att. Bereds.* = *Die Attische Beredsamkeit* von F. Blass. Zweite Auflage. 1887.

Bl.-Kühn. *Gr.* = Blass's revision of Kühner's grammar (see Kühn. below). Vol. I, 1890; Vol. II, 1892.

Boeckh, *Staatsh.* = *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener* von A. Boeckh. Dritte Auflage, von M. Fränkel. 1886.

CIA. = *Corpus Inscriptionum Atticarum.*

G. = Goodwin's *Greek Grammar*. Revised edition. 1893.

GMT. = Goodwin's *Syntax of the Greek Moods and Tenses*. Rewritten and enlarged. 1890.

Gilbert, *Antiq.* = *The Constitutional Antiquities of Sparta and Athens* by G. Gilbert. English translation of the second German edition of Vol. I of the following-named work. 1895.

Gilbert, *Staatsalt.* = *Handbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer* von G. Gilbert. Vol. II. 1885.

Gow = *A Companion to School Classics* by J. Gow. 1889.

H. = Hadley's *Greek Grammar*. Revised by Allen. 1885.

Hermann, *Privatalt.* = *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Privatalterthümer* von K. F. Hermann. Dritte Auflage von H. Blümner. 1882.

Hermann, *Rechtsalt.* = *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Rechtsalterthümer* von K. F. Hermann. Dritte Auflage von Th. Thalheim. 1884.

Hermann, *Staatsalt.* = *Lehrbuch der Griechischen Staatsalterthümer* von K. F. Hermann. Sechste Auflage von V. Thumser. Zweite Abteilung. 1892.

Jebb, *Att. Or.* = *The Attic Orators from Antiphon to Isaeos* by R. C. Jebb. 1876.

Kr. *Spr.* = *Griechische Sprachlehre für Schüler* von K. W. Krüger, Erster Theil. Fünfte Auflage. 1875.

Kühn. = *Ausführliche Grammatik der Griechischen Sprache* von R. Kühner. Zweite Auflage. 1869.

Lutz, *Präp.* = *Die Präpositionem bei den Attischen Rednern* von L. Lutz. 1887.

M. and S. = *Der Attische Process* von Meier and Schömann. Neu bearbeitet von J. H. Lipsius. 1883-1887.

Meisterhans = *Grammatik der Attischen Inschriften* von K. Meisterhans. Zweite Auflage. 1888.

Schoemann, *Gr. Alt.* = *Griechische Alterthümer* von G. F. Schoemann. Dritte Auflage. 1871-1873.

Smith, *Dict. Antiq.* = *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities* by W. Smith, W. Wayte, and G. E. Marindin. Third Edition. 1890-1891.

GREEK INDEX.

[Roman numerals followed by old style Arabic (as xxii. 2) refer to orations and sections, generally to the notes thereon or to the Appendix (App.). The sign § followed by a numeral (as § 12) refers to the sections of the Introduction. A few references are made by pages (as p. 106). Neither the Greek nor the English Index is intended to be exhaustive.]

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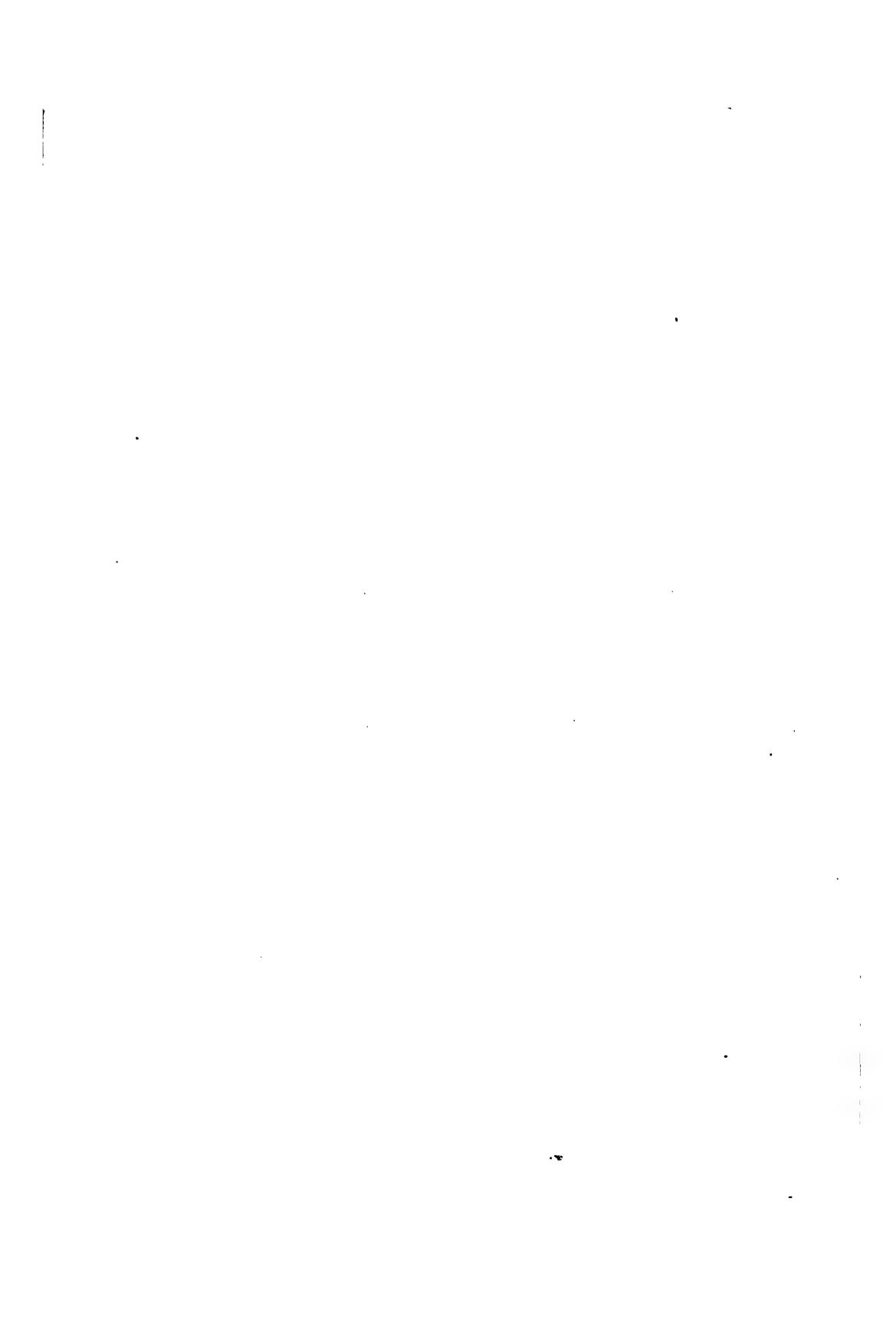
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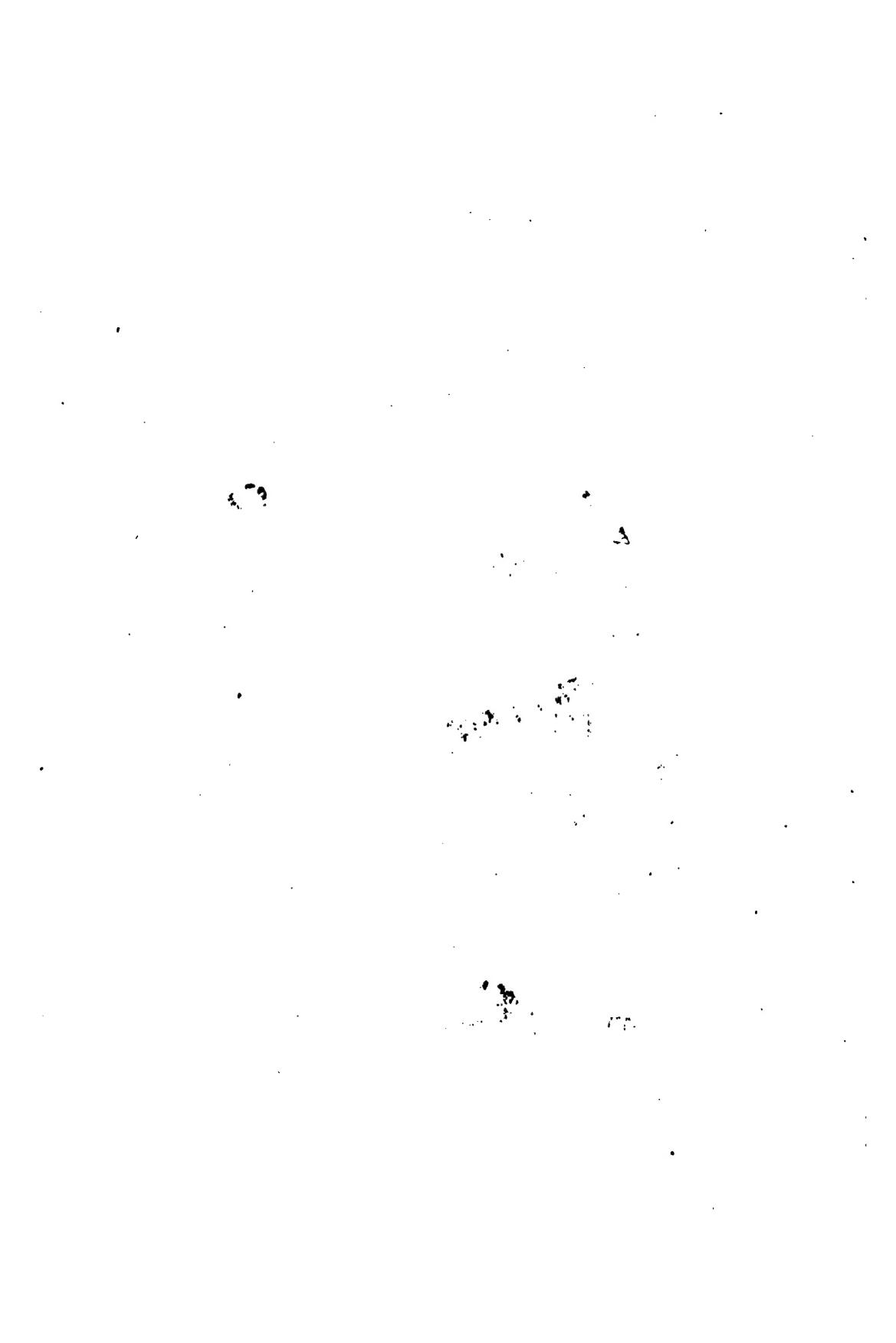
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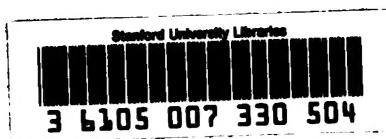
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